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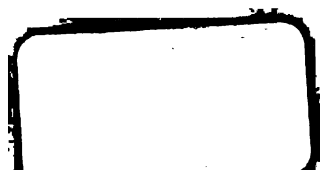
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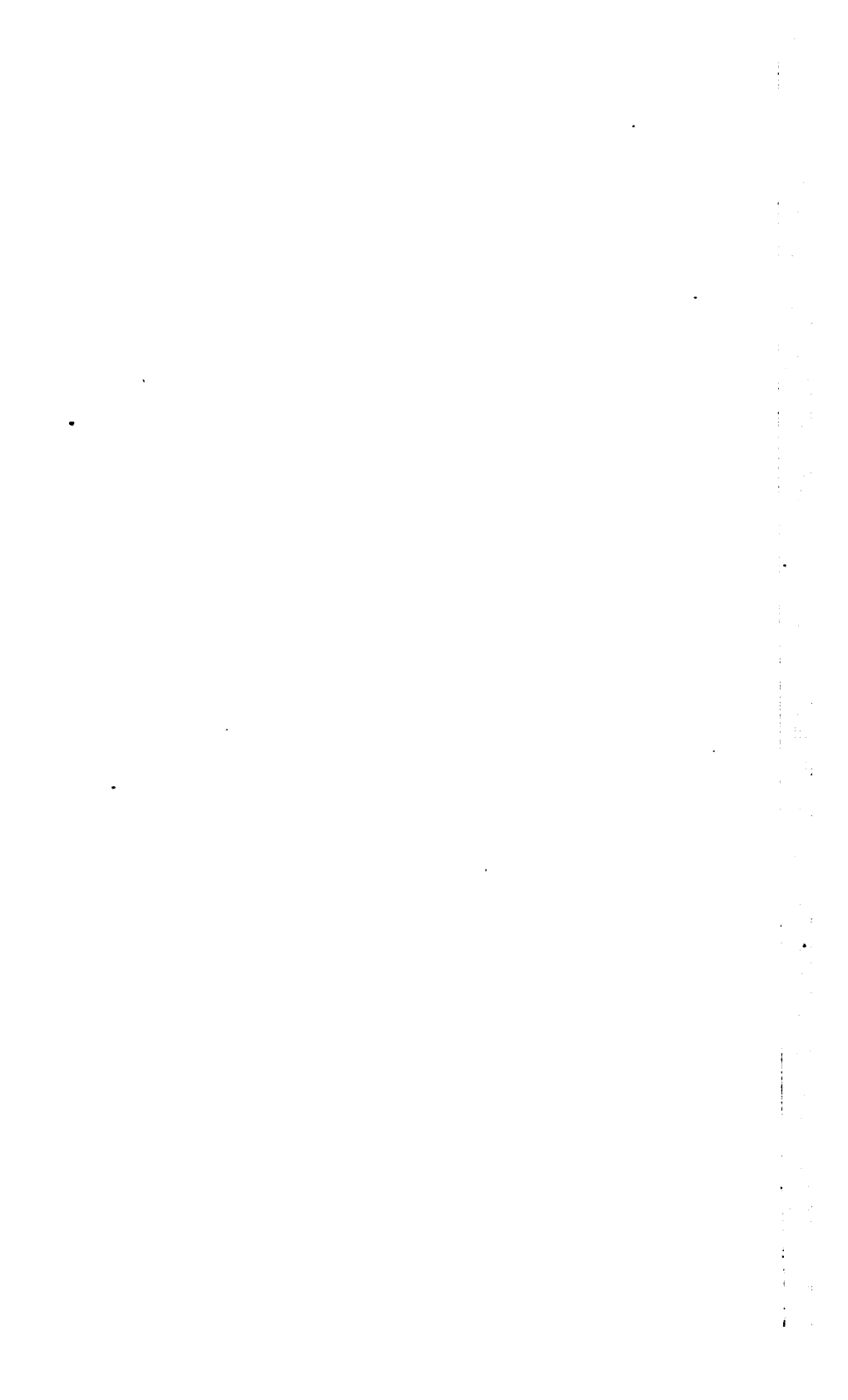
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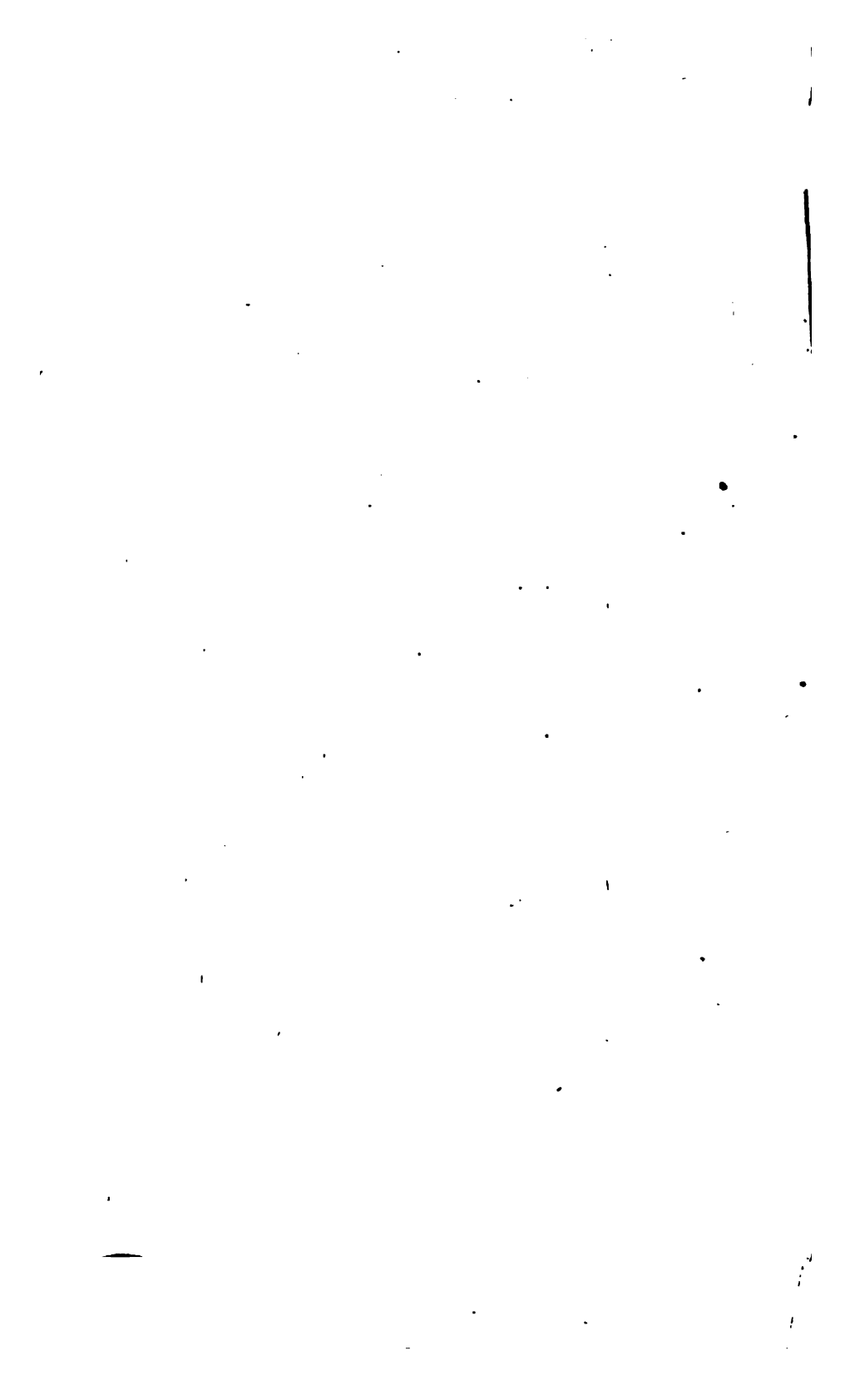


AN
Jackson
Edgewood

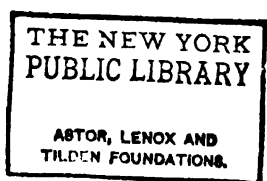








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Wheeler Pinx.

Edwin sc.

GENERAL JACKSON.

THE LIFE
OF
ANDREW JACKSON,
MAJOR GENERAL
IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES:
COMPRISING
A HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE SOUTH,
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE
CREEK CAMPAIGN;
TO THE TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES BEFORE
NEW ORLEANS.

COMMENCED
BY JOHN REID,
BREVET MAJOR, UNITED STATES' ARMY.

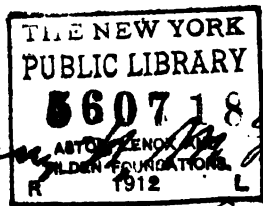
COMPLETED
BY JOHN HENRY EATON.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY M. CAREY AND SON.
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CHILDREN OF JOHN REID.

LYDIA B. BAILLY, PRINTER.

1817.

M.



DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE, to wit:

..... BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the first day of January, in
..... L. S. : the forty-first year of the Independence of the United States of
..... America, A. D. 1817, Abraham Maury, Executor of John Reid,
deceased, deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the right whereof he
claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"The Life of Andrew Jackson, Major General in the service of the United States: comprising a History of the War in the South, from the commencement of the Creek Campaign, to the termination of hostilities before New Orleans. Commenced by John Reid, Brevet Major, United States' army. Completed by John Henry Eaton."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

ROBERT SEARCY, Clerk of the
District of West Tennessee.

NOV 1818
1818
1818

PREFACE.

THE public have been for some time in expectation of this work : to the decision of the candid, who will make allowance for, and duly appreciate, the difficulties of the undertaking, it is now submitted. Who ventures on a detail of events, recent in the recollection of the world, hazards much, and can scarcely expect to escape censure. The numerous actors in, and spectators of, the scenes portrayed, entertaining different opinions of the facts as they transpired, and ascribing them to entirely different causes, become each a critic in his turn, accordingly as the narrative corresponds with, or is variant from his own opinion. The historian who traces events, at a period remote from their occurrence, stands on more favourable ground, and has fewer difficulties to encounter : he then proceeds in his undertaking without being acted upon by prejudice, or influenced by partiality. His readers, too, are similarly situated. But he who draws them at a moment when recollection treasures them, is oftentimes insensibly placed under the influence of both ;—diverted from the course pointed out by truth ;—ascribes events to motives that never induced them ;—bestows censure where it is not due, and commendation where it is not merited.

To avoid errors so common, and to present things truly as they occur, has been the wish of the author, and he believes he has succeeded. He believes so, because he had no inducement to do otherwise, and because, having all the original papers in his possession, there was no avenue to error, unless from intention, and this he disclaims. He can there-

fore venture upon this assurance, that what is detailed may be taken as correct.

As regards the execution of the work, he has not much to offer to the consideration of the reader. It is his first effort, and he is willing to trust it to the world, without preface or apology ;—without supplicating its charity or indulgence in his favour ; from no belief that ample room is not afforded, for both to be exercised in his behalf, but from a conviction that they are seldom or never extended, and that none has a right to ask for them, unless under peculiar circumstances. Whether he be competent to the task, is the duty of every man to inquire, before he undertakes to become an author ; no sooner does he appear before the public in that character, than they have a right to infer, that he has entire confidence in his own qualifications, and may therefore with propriety judge him according to his works."

It was not, however, a belief of this kind, that influenced on the present occasion : peculiar circumstances, and not choice, were the inducement. It is more, therefore, with a view of correctly stating the reasons, why he is placed before the public as an author, than to supplicate any indulgence for the defects which the work may be found to contain, that any thing is ventured to be said. His greatest regret, if he has any on the subject, is, that the events have not been portrayed by some masterly hand, that they might have been exhibited in a manner, worthy of him who gave them their existence.

It is some time, since major Reid submitted proposals for publishing to the world, "The Life of General Jackson." By those who knew him, it was a circumstance, hailed with pleasure, because they entertained a confidence, that the nar-

PREFACE.

rative would be faithful, and that he was well qualified to bestow every embellishment, necessary to render it interesting. His mind had been generously endowed by nature, and was richly stored with polite and elegant literature. The means of education had been liberally spread before him, nor had they been neglected. But before he could effect his object, he died. This event, deeply deplored, produced the necessity of either abandoning what had been already begun, or of prevailing on some person, to complete it. Through the entreaty of his relations and friends, the present author was led to the undertaking; not from a conviction that he would be able to present it, in a garb calculated to satisfy public expectation; but from a desire, that the infant children of one, who had rendered important services to his country, might not be so far injured by his death, as to lose the benefit, of what was supposed and hoped, might afford a sufficient fund for the purposes of their education.

This consideration, sufficiently weighty in itself, was the more cheerfully subscribed to, from a belief, that, perhaps, the greater part of the work was already digested, and only needed to be transcribed, and properly prepared for the press; for as yet the papers were in Virginia. Unforeseen difficulties, however, arose, when, on their arrival at Nashville, it was found, that scarcely one third of it had been prepared;* while the residue remained to be sought for, through an immense quantity of papers, without any arrangement or order. Many as were the difficulties presented, and troublesome as the research promised to be, yet the arrangement being already announced, it was too late to retract.

The brilliant achievements which had marked the course of general Jackson, and given to himself and his country a

* End of Chapter IV.

distinguished standing, had been already brought to public view; but garbled facts, and contradictory statements, had been so extensively circulated, that none knew things truly as they should be; and all, with impatience, looked for the appearance of a work, which should dispel doubt, and bring forth facts, substantially as they were. This anxiety in the public mind, added to a desire to have it published in time, to render the most essential service possible, to the children of the deceased, has caused its appearance earlier than was prompted by other considerations.

He, then, who shall read what is written, with a determination not to be pleased, because it is not so perfect as he himself could have made it, is desired to remember, that there is every imaginable difference between him, who has been accustomed to such pursuits, and, from habit, is enabled to give a happy arrangement to thought, and correctness to expression; and one who carries with him no such aid. But those who desire a correct view of those masterly exertions, which constantly hurried their actor to the most brilliant and uninterrupted successes;—who can be pleased with benevolence and generosity; and strength, and nerve, and decision of character, concentered in the same breast;—with a career, which, at every step, evinced an unshaken determination, to move forward for the benefit and exaltation of his country, at all hazards, and at every risk, will find much to admire. They will see the man, of whom they have already heard much, fearlessly encountering danger, and erecting himself in opposition to every design, that came in collision with the duty he owed to the station he occupied; and who, in moments of extreme difficulty, did not shrink from responsibility; but, bringing to his aid the slender resources within his reach, protected and saved an all-important and valuable portion of his country, at a time, when

her warmest votaries regarded the cause, in that quarter, as hopeless.

Whether the work shall be flatteringly received, or shall "drop still-born from the press," although of some concern to the author, is an event on which his peace and tranquillity of mind does not depend. A recollection, that the good opinion of the world is dependent on a thousand accidental circumstances,—is often "obtained without merit, and lost without crime," affords considerations, that neither hope nor fear can disturb. But that it shall be so far charitably received and patronized, as to afford advantages to the infant children of a friend, is desired. Their father is no more! but, as his representatives, they have claims of no common kind, on the liberality of the public. A character unstained by dishonour, and without reproach; a firmness unshaken, and a devotion to his country, are the inheritance he has left them. He was no inactive spectator of the trying scenes that are past. When danger threatened, he was foremost to meet it. Throughout the prosecution of the southern war, in the capacity of aid to the commanding general, he was active and valiant. Nor can any stronger evidence be furnished of his capacity, unquestioned merit, and distinguished services rendered, than that during the whole period, he carried with him the entire confidence and friendship of his general.

Of the proposals that were issued for its publication, few have been returned: an apprehension that the work would die with the author, occasioned them to be neglected and lost: it has therefore been put to press without the aid of that patronage, which had at first been extended, resting for future success on the considerations suggested, and the merit it may be found to contain.

It was desirable to avoid in the narrative, all those circumstances in which general Jackson was not directly concerned; but as the design of the original author was to give a complete history of the southern war, that plan has been pursued, and some events adverted to, in which the general had no immediate agency.

JOHN H. EATON.

Nashville, January, 1817.

NOTE.—Page 336, line 3, from the bottom, for “more than eight,”
read “fifteen.”

THE LIFE

OF

ANDREW JACKSON.

CHAPTER I.

His birth, parentage, family, and education.—Engages in the American revolution, and is shortly after, with his brother, made a prisoner.—Their treatment and sufferings.—Commences the study of law.—His removal to the western country.—Becomes a member of the Tennessee convention, and afterwards a senator in the United States' congress.—Retires, and is appointed a judge of the state courts.—Declaration of war.—Tenders the services of 2500 volunteers to the president.—Ordered to the lower country.—His descent and return.

THE parents of Andrew Jackson were Irish. CHAP. I.
His father, (Andrew) the youngest son of his family, emigrated to America about the year 1765, bringing with him two sons, Hugh and Robert, both very young. Landing at Charleston, in South Carolina, he shortly afterwards purchased a tract of land, in what was then called the Waxsaw settlement, about forty-five miles above Camden; at which place the subject of this history was born, on the 15th of March, 1767. Shortly after his birth, his father died, leaving three sons to be

CHAP. provided for by their mother. She appears to have

I.
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been an exemplary woman, and to have executed the arduous duties which had devolved on her, with great faithfulness and success. To the lessons she inculcated on the youthful minds of her sons, was, no doubt, owing, in a great measure, that fixed opposition to British tyranny and oppression, which afterwards so much distinguished them. Often would she spend the winter's night, in recounting to them the sufferings of their grandfather, at the siege of Carrickfergus, and the oppressions exercised by the nobility of Ireland, over the labouring poor; impressing it upon them, as their first duty, to expend their lives, if it should become necessary, in defending and supporting the natural rights of man.

Inheriting but a small patrimony from their father, it was impossible that all the sons could receive an expensive education. The two eldest were therefore only taught the rudiments of their mother tongue, at a common country school. But Andrew, being intended by his mother for the ministry, was sent to a flourishing academy in the Waxsaw meeting house, superintended by Mr. Humphries. Here he was placed on the study of the dead languages, and continued until the revolutionary war, extending its ravages into that section of South Carolina, where he then was, rendered it necessary that every one should betake himself to the American standard, seek protection with the enemy, or flee his country. It was not an alternative that admitted of much deliberation. The natural ardor of his temper, deriving encouragement from the recommendations of his mother, whose feelings were



not less alive on the occasion than his own, quickly determined him in the course to be pursued; and at the tender age of fourteen, with his brother Robert, he hastened to the American camp, and engaged in the service of his country. His oldest brother, who had previously joined the army, had lost his life at the battle of Stono, by the excessive heat of the weather, and the fatigues of the day.

CHAP.  
I.

Both Andrew and Robert, were, at this period, pretty well acquainted with the manual exercise, and had some idea of the different evolutions of the field, having been indulged by their mother in attending the drill, and general musters.

The Americans being unequal, as well by the inferiority of their numbers, as their discipline, to engage the British army in battle, retired before it, into the interior of North Carolina; but when they learned, that lord Cornwallis had crossed the Yadkin, they returned in small detachments to their native state. On their arrival, they found lord Rawdon in possession of Camden, and the whole country around in a state of desolation. The British commander being advised of the return of the settlers of Waxsaw; major Coffin was immediately despatched thither, with a corps of light dragoons, a company of infantry, and a considerable number of Tories, for their capture and destruction. Hearing of their approach, the settlers, without delay, appointed the Waxsaw meeting house as a place of rendezvous, that they might the better collect their scattered strength, and concert some system of operations. About forty of them had accordingly assembled at this point, when the enemy approached, keeping the Tories,

CHAP. who were dressed in the common garb of the country,

I.

in front, whereby this little band of patriots was completely deceived, taking them for captain Nisbet's company, in expectation of which they had been waiting. Eleven of them were taken prisoners; the rest with difficulty fled, scattering and betaking themselves to the woods for concealment. Of those who thus escaped, though closely pursued, were Andrew Jackson and his brother, who, entering a secret bend in a creek, that was close at hand, obtained a momentary respite from danger, and avoided, for the night, the pursuit of the enemy. The next day, however, having gone to a neighbouring house, for the purpose of procuring something to eat, they were broken in upon, and made prisoners, by Coffin's dragoons, and a party of Tories who accompanied them. They had approached the house by a route through the woods, and thereby eluded the vigilance of a sentinel who had been posted on the road. Being placed under guard, Andrew was ordered, in a very imperious tone, by a British officer, to clean his boots, which had become muddied in crossing a creek. This order he positively and peremptorily refused to obey; alleging that he looked for such treatment as a prisoner of war had a right to expect. Incensed at his refusal, the officer aimed a blow at his head with a drawn sword, which would, very probably, have terminated his existence, had he not parried its effects by throwing up his left hand, on which he received a severe wound. His brother, at the same time, for a similar offence, received a deep cut on the head, which afterwards occasioned his death. They were both now taken to gaol, where, separated and

Is made a  
prisoner  
by the British.

confined, they were treated with marked severity, until a few days after the battle before Camden, when, in consequence of a partial exchange, effected by the intercessions and exertions of their mother, and captain Walker, of the militia, they were both released. Captain Walker had, in a charge on the rear of the British army, succeeded in making thirteen prisoners, whom he gave in exchange for seven Americans, of which number were these two young men. Robert, during his confinement in prison, had suffered greatly; the wound on his head, all this time, having never been dressed, was followed by an inflammation of the brain, which, in a few days after his liberation, brought him to the grave. To add to the afflictions of Andrew, his mother, worn down by grief, and her incessant exertions to provide clothing and other comforts for the suffering prisoners, who had been taken from her neighbourhood, expired, in a few weeks after her son, near the lines of the enemy, in the vicinity of Charleston. Andrew, the last and only surviving child, confined to a bed of sickness, occasioned by the sufferings he had been compelled to undergo, whilst a prisoner, and by getting wet, on his return from captivity, was thus left in the wide world, without a human being with whom he could claim a near relationship. The small pox beginning, about the same time, to make its appearance upon him, had well nigh terminated his sorrows and his existence.

Having at length recovered from his complicated afflictions, he entered upon the enjoyment of his estate, which, although small, would have been sufficient, under prudent management, to have completed his

CHAP. education, on the liberal scale which his mother had  
I. designed. Unfortunately, however, he, like too many  
young men, sacrificing future prospects to present gratification, expended it with rather too profuse a hand. Coming, at length, to foresee that he should be finally obliged to rely on his own exertions, for support and success in life, he again betook himself to his studies, with increased industry. He recommenced under Mr. M'Culloch, in what was then called the New Acquisition, near Hill's iron works. Here he revised the languages, devoting a portion of his time to a desultory course of studies.

His education being now completed, so far as his wasted patrimony, and the opportunities then afforded in that section of the country, would permit; at the age of eighteen, he turned his attention to acquiring a profession, and preparing himself to enter on the busy scenes of life. The pulpit, for which he had been designed by his mother, was now abandoned for the bar; and, in the winter of 1784, he repaired to Salisbury, in North Carolina, and commenced the study of law, under Spruce M'Cay, Esq. (afterwards one of the judges of that state,) and continued it under colonel John Stokes. Having remained at Salisbury until the winter of 1786, he obtained a license from the judges to practice, and continued in the state until the spring of 1788.

The observations he was enabled, during this time, to make, satisfied him that this state presented few inducements to a young attorney; and recollecting that he stood a solitary individual in life, without relations to aid him in the onset, when innumerable difficulties

arise and retard success, he determined to seek a new country. But for this, he might have again returned to his native state; but the death of every relation he had, had wiped away all those recollections and circumstances which warp the mind to the place of its nativity. The western parts of the state of Tennessee were, about this time, often spoken of, as presenting flattering prospects to adventurers. He immediately determined to accompany judge M'Nairy thither, who was appointed and going out to hold the first supreme court that had ever sat in the state. Having reached the Holston, they ascertained it would be impossible to arrive at the time appointed for the session of the court; and therefore determined to remain in that country until fall. They re-commenced their journey in October, and, passing through the wilderness, reached Nashville in the same month. It had not been Jackson's intention, certainly, to make Tennessee the place of his future residence; his visit was merely experimental, and his stay remained to be determined, by the advantages that might be disclosed; but finding, soon after his arrival, that a considerable opening was offered for the success of a young attorney, he determined to remain. His industry and attention soon brought him forward, and introduced him to a profitable practice. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed attorney general for the district, in which capacity he continued to act for several years.

Indian depredations being then frequent on the Cumberland, every man became a soldier. Unassisted by the government, the settlers were forced to rely for security on their own bravery and exertions. Although

CHAP. young, no person was more distinguished than Andrew  
I. Jackson, in defending the country against these predat-  
tory incursions of the savages, who continually har-  
assed the frontiers, and not unfrequently approached  
the heart of the settlements, which were thin, but not  
widely extended. He aided alike in garrisoning the  
forts, and in pursuing and chastising the enemy.

In the year 1796, having, by his patriotism, firm-  
ness, and talents, secured to himself a distinguished  
standing with all classes, he was chosen one of the  
members of the convention, for establishing a consti-  
tution for the state. His good conduct and zeal for  
the public interest, on this occasion, brought him more  
conspicuously to view ; and, without proposing or so-  
liciting, he was, in the same year, elected a member of  
the house of representatives, in congress, for the state  
of Tennessee. The following year, his reputation  
continuing to increase, and every bosom feeling a wish  
to raise him to still higher honours, he was chosen a  
member of the United States' senate.

The state of Tennessee, on its admission into the  
Union, comprising but one military division, and ge-  
neral Conway, who commanded it, as major general,  
dying about this time, Jackson, without being con-  
sulted on the subject, and without the least intimation  
of what was in agitation, was chosen, by the field offi-  
cers, to succeed him ; which appointment he continued  
to hold, until May, 1814, when he was constituted a  
major general in the United States' service.

Growing tired of political life, for the intrigues of  
which he found himself unqualified, and having for  
two years voted in the minority in congress, he re-

signed his seat in the senate, in 1799. To this measure he was strongly urged, by a wish to make way for general Smith, who, he conjectured, would, in that capacity, be able to render more important services to the government than himself. His country, unwilling that his talents should remain inactive and unemployed, again demanded his services. Immediately after his resignation, he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of the state. Sensibly alive to the difficult duties of this station, and impressed with the great injury he might do to suitors, by erroneous decisions, he advanced to the office with reluctance, and in a short time resigned it; leaving it open for those, who, he believed, were better qualified than himself, to discharge its intricate and important duties. Determined now to spend his life in tranquillity and retirement, he settled himself on an elegant farm, ten miles from Nashville, on the Cumberland river; where, for several years, he enjoyed all the comforts of domestic and social intercourse. Abstracted from the busy scenes of public life, surrounded by friends whom he loved, and who entertained for him the highest veneration and respect, and blessed with an amiable and affectionate consort, nothing seemed wanting to the completion of that happiness he so anxiously desired whilst in office. But a period approached, when all these endearments were again to be abandoned, for the duties of more active life. Great Britain, by multiplied outrages on our rights, as an independent and neutral nation, had provoked from our government a declaration of war against her. This measure, though founded in abundant cause, had been long forborne, and every at-

CHAP.  
I.

CHAP. tempt at conciliation made, without effect: when, at

I.

length, it was resorted to, as the only alternative that could preserve the honour and dignity of the nation. General Jackson, ever devoted to the interest of his country, from that moment, knew no wish so strong as that of entering into her service, against a power, which, independent of public considerations, he had many private reasons for disliking. In her, he could trace the efficient cause, why, in early life, he had been left forlorn and wretched, without a single relation in the world. His proud and inflexible mind, however, could not venture to solicit an appointment in the army, now about be raised. He remained wholly unknown, until, at the head of the militia, employed against the Creek Indians, his constant vigilance, and the splendour of his victories, apprised the general government of those great military talents which he so eminently possessed, and conspicuously displayed, when opportunities for exerting them were afforded.

The acts of congress, of the 6th of February, and July, 1812, afforded the means of bringing into view a display of those powers, which, unfortunately, being unknown, had too long slumbered in inaction. Under these acts, authorizing the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, he addressed the citizens of his division, and twenty-five hundred flocked to his standard. A tender of them having been made, in November he received orders to descend the Mississippi, for the defence of the lower country, which was then thought to be in danger. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, those troops rendezvoused at Nashville, prepared to advance to the place of their

Tender of  
services  
to govern-  
ment.



destination; and, although the weather was then ex-  
 cessively severe, and the ground covered with snow,  
 none could have displayed greater firmness. The  
 general was every where with them, inspiring them  
 with the ardour that animated his own bosom. The  
 cheerful spirit with which they submitted to hardships,  
 and bore privations, on the very onset of their military  
 career, as well as the order and subordination they so  
 readily observed, were happy presages of what might  
 be expected, when they should be directed to face an  
 enemy.

CHAP.  
I.

Having procured supplies, and made the necessary  
 arrangements for an active campaign, they proceeded,  
 the 7th of January, on their journey; and, descend-  
 ing the Ohio and Mississippi, through cold and ice,  
 arrived and halted at Natchez. Here Jackson was in-  
 structed to remain, until he should receive further or-  
 ders. Having chosen a healthy site for the encamp-  
 ment of his troops, about two miles from Washington,  
 he devoted his time, with the utmost industry, to  
 training and preparing them for active service. The  
 clouds of war, however, in that quarter, having blown  
 over, he received an order from the secretary of war,  
 dated the 5th of January, directing him, on the re-  
 ceipt thereof, to dismiss those under his command,  
 from service, and to take measures for delivering over  
 every article of public property, in his possession, to  
 major general Wilkinson. When this order reached  
 his camp, there were one hundred and fifty on the  
 sick report, fifty-six of whom were unable to raise  
 their heads, and almost the whole of them destitute of  
 the means of defraying the expenses of their return:

1813.

descends  
the Mis-  
sissippi.

CHAP. I. the consequence, therefore, of a strict compliance with the secretary's order, must have been, that many of the sick would have perished, whilst most of the rest would, from necessity, have been compelled to enlist in the regular army, under general Wilkinson. Such alternatives were neither congenial with their general's wishes, nor such as they had expected, on adventuring with him; he had carried them from home, and, the fate of war and disease apart, it was his duty, he believed, to bring them back. Whether an expectation, that, by this plan, many of them would be compelled into the regular ranks, had formed any part of the motive that occasioned the order for their discharge, at so great a distance from home, cannot be known; and it would be uncharitable to insinuate so serious and foul an accusation, without the strongest evidence to support it. Be this as it may, general Jackson could not think of sacrificing or injuring an army that had shown such devotedness to their country; and he determined to disregard the order, and march them back to their homes, where they had been embodied; rather than discharge them where they would be exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers. To this measure he was prompted, not only by the reasons already mentioned, but by the consideration, that many of the troops under his command were young men, the children of his neighbours and acquaintances, who had delivered them into his hands, as to a guardian, who, with parental solicitude, would watch over and protect their welfare. To have abandoned them, therefore, at such a time, and under such circumstances, would have drawn on him the merited censure

of the most deserving part of his fellow-citizens. Add CHAP.  
I.  
to this, those young men themselves, who were confined by sickness, learning the nature of the order he had received, implored him, with tears in their eyes, not to abandon them in so great an extremity, reminding him, at the same time, of his assurances that he would be to them as a father, and of the implicit confidence they had placed in his word. This was an appeal, which it would have been difficult for the feelings of Jackson to have resisted, had it been without the support of other weighty considerations; but, influenced by them all, he had no hesitation in coming to a determination.

Having made known his resolution to the field officers, it met, apparently, their approbation; but those officers, amongst whom were colonels Martin, Allcorn, and Bradley, and those attached to the platoons, after retiring from his presence, assembled late at night, in secret caucus, and recommended to him an abandonment of his purpose, and an immediate discharge of his troops. Great as was the astonishment, which this measure excited in the general, it produced a still higher sentiment of indignation. In reply, he urged the duplicity of their conduct, and reminded them, that although to those who possessed funds and health, such a course could produce no inconvenience, yet to the unfortunate soldier, who was destitute of both, no measure could be more calamitous. He concluded by telling them, that his resolution not having been hastily formed, nor bottomed on light considerations, was unalterably fixed; and that immediate preparations must be made for carrying it into execution.

**CHAP.** He lost no time in making known to the secretary of war, the resolution he had adopted ; to disregard the order he had given, and return his army to the place where he had received it. He painted in strong terms the evils it was calculated to produce, and expressed the astonishment he felt, that it should have originated with the famous author of the "Newburg Letters," the then redoubted advocate for soldiers' rights.

**I.**

General Wilkinson, to whom the public property was directed to be delivered, learning that the determination had been taken, to march the troops back, and to take with them, so much of that property as should be necessary to their return, admonished Jackson, in a letter of solemn and mysterious import, of the awful and dangerous responsibility he was taking on himself, by that measure. General Jackson replied, that his conduct, and the consequences to which it might lead, had been deliberately weighed, and that he was prepared to abide the result. Wilkinson had previously given orders to his officers, to recruit from Jackson's army ; they were advised, however, on their first appearance, that those troops were already in the service of the United States, and that thus situated, they should not be enlisted.

The quarter master, having been ordered to furnish the necessary transportation, for the conveyance of the sick and baggage to Tennessee, immediately set about the performance of the task ; but, as the event proved, with no intention of executing it. Still, he continued to keep up the semblance of exertion ; and the better to deceive, the very day before that, which had been appointed for breaking up the encampment,

and commencing the return march, eleven wagons arrived there by his order. The next morning, however, when every thing was about to be packed up, the quarter master entered the encampment, and discharged the whole. He was grossly mistaken in the man he had to deal with, and had now played his own tricks too far, to accomplish the object, which he had, no doubt, been instructed to effect. Disregarding their dismissal, so evidently designed to prevent his marching back his men, general Jackson seized upon these wagons, yet within his lines, and used them for the transportation of his sick. It deserves to be recollected, that this quarter master, so soon as he had received directions for furnishing transportation, despatched an express to general Wilkinson: and there can be but little doubt, that the course of duplicity he afterwards pursued, was a concerted plan between him and that general, to defeat the design of Jackson; compel him to abandon the course he had adopted; and, in this way, draw to the regular army many of the soldiers, who, from necessity, would be driven to enlist. In this attempt, they were fortunately disappointed. Adhering to his original purpose, he marched back the whole of his division, to the section of country whence they had been drawn, and dismissed them from service, as he had been instructed.

To set an example, that might buoy up the sinking spirits of his troops, in the long and arduous march before them, he yielded up his horses to the sick, and encountered all the hardships that were met by the soldiers. It was at a time of year when the roads were extremely bad, and the swamps, lying in their passage,

CHAP.

I.

CHAP. deep and full ; yet, under these circumstances, he placed

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ced before his troops an example of patience, and hardship, that lulled to silence all complaints, and won to him, still stronger than before, the esteem and respect of every one. On arriving at Nashville, he communicated to the president of the United States, the course he had pursued, and the reasons that had induced it. If it had become necessary, he had sufficient grounds on which he could have justified his conduct. Had he suffered general Wilkinson to have accomplished what was clearly his intention, it was an event which might, at the moment, have benefited the service, by adding an increased strength to the army ; yet the example would have been of so serious a character, that injury would have been the final result. Whether the intention of thus forcing these men to enlist into the regular ranks, had its existence under the direction of the government, or not, such would have been the universal belief ; and all would have felt a deep abhorrence, at beholding the patriots of the country sent off, under pretence of danger, whilst the concealed design was, by increasing their necessities, at a distance from home, to compel them to an act which they would have abstained from, under different circumstances. His conduct was approved of, and the expenses incurred directed to be paid.

## CHAPTER II.

Indian preparation for hostilities.—Tecumseh arrives amongst the southern tribes; his intrigues.—Civil wars of the Creeks.—Destruction of Fort Mimms.—Expedition against the Indians.—Jackson joins the army, and enters the enemy's country.—Scarcity of supplies in his camp.—Learns the savages are embodied.—His address to his troops.—Seeks to form a junction with the East Tennessee division, under general Cocke.—Detaches general Coffee across the Coosa.—Battle of Tallushatchee.

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THE volunteers, who had descended the river, being discharged, early in May, there was little expectation that they would be again called for. Tennessee was too remotely situated in the interior of the country, to expect their services would be required at home, and hitherto the British had discovered no serious intention of waging operations against any part of Louisiana. Their repose, however, was not of long duration. The Creek Indians, inhabiting the country lying between the Chatahochee and Tombigbee, and extending from the Tennessee river to the Florida line, had lately manifested strong symptoms of hostility towards the United States, from which they had received yearly pensions, and every assistance which the most liberal policy could bestow. This disposition was greatly strengthened, by the means used by the northern Indians, who were then making preparations for a war against the United States, and who wished to engage

CHAP.  
II.



CHAP. II. the southern tribes in the same enterprise. This they believed to be of much importance; as, by assailing the whole line of our frontiers at the same time, they would be able, at once, to gratify their vengeance, and enrich themselves with plunder.

An artful impostor had, about this time, sprung up amongst the Shawnees, who, by passing for a prophet, commissioned by "the Great Spirit," to communicate his mandates and assurances to his red children, had acquired, among his own and the neighbouring tribes, the most astonishing influence. Clothed, as they believed him to be, with such high powers, they listened to his most extravagant doctrines, and in them fully confided. In a little time, he succeeded in kindling a phrenzy and rage against the Anglo-Americans, which soon after burst forth in acts of destructive violence.

Tecumseh  
arrives in  
the Creek  
nation.

His brother, Tecumseh, who became so famous during the war, was despatched to the southern tribes, to excite the same temper. To the Creeks, as by far the most numerous and powerful, as well as the most liable, from their situation and habits, to be influenced by his suggestions, he directed his principal attention. Having entered their nation, some time in the spring of 1812, he repaired to Tookaubatcha, where he had several conferences with the chiefs; but not meeting with the encouragement he expected, he returned to the Alabama, which he had previously visited, and commenced his operations.

Finding here several leaders of great influence, who readily entered into his views, he was enabled to carry on his schemes with great success. Deriving his powers from his brother, *the Prophet*, whose extraordinary



commission and endowments were, before this, well understood by all the neighbouring tribes in the south; his authority was regarded with the highest veneration. He strongly interdicted all intercourse with the whites, and prevailed on the greater part of the Alabamians to throw aside the implements and clothing which that intercourse had furnished, and return again to their savage state, from which he represented them as highly culpable for having suffered themselves to be estranged. In a word, no means were left untried to excite them to the most deadly animosity and cruel war. To give additional weight to his councils, this designing missionary gave assurances of aid and support from Great Britain; whose power and riches he represented as almost without limits, and quite sufficient for the subjugation of the United States. So great an influence did his intrigues and discourses obtain over the minds of many, that it was with difficulty the most turbulent of them could be restrained from running immediately to arms, and committing depredations on the exposed frontiers. This hasty measure, however, he represented as calculated to defeat the great plan of operations which he was labouring to concert; and enjoined the utmost secrecy and quietness, until the moment should arrive, when, all their preparations being ready, they might be able to strike a general and decisive blow; in the mean time, they were to be industriously employed in collecting arms and ammunition, and other necessary implements of war.

Having ordained a chief prophet, whose word was to be regarded as infallible, and whose directions were

CHAP. to be implicitly followed; and established a regular  
II. gradation of inferior dependents, to scatter his doctrines through the different parts of the nation, Tecumseh set out to his own tribe, accompanied by several of the natives.

From this time, a regular communication was kept up, between the Creeks and the northern tribes, in relation to the great enterprise, which they were concerting together; whilst the parties, carrying it on, committed frequent depredations on the frontier settlers. By one of these, in the summer of 1812, several families had been murdered, in a shocking manner, near the mouth of the Ohio; and shortly afterwards, another party, entering the limits of Tennessee, butchered, with still greater barbarity, two families of women and children, on Duck river. Similar outrages were committed on the frontiers of Georgia, and were continued, at intervals, on the inhabitants of Tennessee, along her southern boundary.

These multiplied outrages at length attracted the attention of the general government; and, application was made, through their agent, (colonel Hawkins,) to the principal chiefs of the nation, who resolved to punish the murderers with death; and immediately appointed a party of warriors to carry their determination into execution. No sooner was this done, than the spirit of the greater part of the nation, which, from policy, had been kept, in a considerable degree, dormant, suddenly burst into a flame, and kindled a civil war.

It was not difficult for the friends of those murderers, who had been put to death, to prevail on others,

who secretly applauded the acts for which they suffered, to enter warmly into their resentments against those who had been concerned in bringing them to punishment. An occasion was at hand, as they believed, fully authorizing them to throw aside all those injunctions of secrecy, with regard to their hostile intentions, which had been imposed on them by Tecumseh and their prophets. This restraint, which, hitherto, they had regarded with much difficulty, they now resolved to lay aside, and to execute their insatiate and long-projected vengeance, not only on the white people, but on those of their own nation, who, by this last act, had unequivocally shown a disposition to preserve their friendship with the former. The cloak of concealment being now thrown aside, the war clubs\* were immediately seen in every section of the nation; but more particularly among the numerous hordes residing near the Alabama. Brandishing these in their hands, they rushed, in the first instance, on those of their own countrymen, who had shown a disposition to preserve their relations with the United States, and obliged them to retire towards the white settlements, and place themselves in forts, to escape the first ebullition of their rage. Encouraged by this success, and their numbers, which hourly increased; and infatuated in the highest

1813.

\* Instruments used by the Indian tribes, on commencing hostilities; and which, when painted red, they consider a declaration of war. They are formed of a stick, about eighteen inches in length, with a strong piece of sharp iron affixed at the end; and in appearance resemble a hatchet. They use them principally in pursuit, and after they have been able to introduce confusion into the ranks of an enemy.

CHAP. degree, by the predictions of their prophets, who as-

II.

ured them, that "the Great Spirit" was on their side, and would enable them to triumph over all their enemies; they began to make immediate preparations for extending their ravages to the white settlements. Fort Mimms, situated in the Tensaw settlement, in the Mississippi territory, was the first point destined to satiate their cruelty and vengeance. It contained, at that time, about one hundred and fifty men, under the command of major Beasley, besides a considerable number of women and children, who had betaken themselves to it for security. Having collected a supply of ammunition, from the Spaniards, at Pensacola, and assembled their warriors, to the number of six or seven hundred, the war party, on the 30th of August, commenced their assault on the fort; and having succeeded in carrying it, put to death nearly three hundred persons, including women and children, with the most savage barbarity. The slaughter was indiscriminate; mercy was extended to none; and the tomahawk often cleft the mother and the child, at the same stroke. But seventeen of the whole number, in the fort, escaped, to bring intelligence of the dreadful catastrophe. This monstrous and unprovoked outrage no sooner reached Tennessee, than the whole state was thrown into a ferment, and nothing was thought or spoken of, but retaliatory vengeance. Considerable excitement had already been produced, by brutalities of earlier date, and measures had been adopted by the governor, in conformity with instructions from the secretary of war, for commencing a campaign against them; but the massacre at Fort Mimms, which threatened to be followed by the

Destruction of  
fort  
Mimms.

entire destruction of the Mobile and Tombigbee settlements, inspired a deep and universal sentiment of solicitude, and an earnest wish for speedy and effectual operations. The anxiety felt on the occasion, was greatly increased, from an apprehension, that general Jackson would not be able to command. He was the only man, known in the state, who was believed qualified to discharge the arduous duties of the station, and who could carry with him, the complete confidence of his soldiers. He was at this time confined to his room, with a fractured arm, and a wound in his body, by a pistol ball, received in a private rencounter, some time before: although this apprehension was seriously indulged, measures were industriously taken, to prepare the expedition with the utmost despatch.

A numerous collection of respectable citizens, who convened at Nashville, on the 18th of September, for the purpose of devising the most effectual ways and means of affording protection to their brethren in distress, after conferring with the governor and general Jackson, who was still confined to his room, strongly advised the propriety of marching a sufficient army into the heart of the Creek nation; and accordingly recommended this measure, with great earnestness, to the legislature, which, in a few days afterwards, commenced its session. That body, penetrated with the same sentiments which animated the whole country, immediately enacted a law, authorizing the executive to call into the field thirty-five hundred of the militia, to be marched against the Indians; and, lest the general government should omit to adopt them into their service, 300,000 dollars were voted for their support.

CHAP.

II.

CHAP. Additional reasons were at hand, why active operations should be commenced with the least possible delay.

II.

The settlers were fleeing to the interior, and every day brought intelligence, that the Creeks, collected in large force, were bending their course towards the frontiers of Tennessee. The governor now issued an order to general Jackson, requiring him to call out, and rendezvous at Fayetteville, in the shortest possible time, two thousand of the militia and volunteers of his division, to repel any invasion that might be contemplated. Colonel Coffee, in addition to five hundred cavalry, already raised, and under his command, was authorized and instructed to organize and receive into his regiment, any mounted riflemen, that might make a tender of their services.

Creek war.

Having received these orders, Jackson directed colonel Coffee, with the force then under his command, and such additional mounted riflemen as could be attached at a short notice, to hasten forward to the neighbourhood of Huntsville, and occupy some eligible position, for the defence of the frontier, until the infantry could arrive; when it was contemplated to push him on, by the nearest route, to fort St. Stephens. The infantry, consisting, in part, of the late detachment of volunteers, who descended the Mississippi, were directed to appear at the place appointed, on the 4th of October, well equipped for active service. He stated to them the imperious necessity, which demanded their services, and required them to be punctual; that their frontiers were threatened with invasion by a savage foe. "Already are large bodies of the hostile Creeks marching to your borders, with their scalping knives

unsheathed, to butcher your women and children : CHAP.  
time is not to be lost. We must hasten to the frontier, II.  
or we shall find it drenched in the blood of our citi-  
zens ! The health of your general is restored—he will  
command in person.”

Every exertion was now made, to hasten the preparations for a vigorous campaign. Orders were given to the quarter master, to furnish the necessary munitions, with the proper transportation ; and to the contractors, to provide ample supplies of provisions. The day of October 4 their rendezvous being arrived, and the general not being sufficiently recovered of his wound, to attend in person, he sent, by his aid-de-camp, major Reid, an address, to be read to the troops, accompanied by an order for the establishment of the police of the camp. In this address, he pointed to the unprovoked injuries that had been so long inflicted by this horde of merciless and cruel savages ; and intreated his soldiers to evince that zeal in the defence of their country, which the importance of the moment so much required. “ We are about to furnish these savages a lesson of admonition ;—we are about to teach them, that our long forbearance has not proceeded from an insensibility to wrongs, or inability to redress them. They stand in need of such warning. In proportion as we have borne with their insults, and submitted to their outrages, have they multiplied in number, and increased in atrocity. But the measure of their offences is at length filled. The blood of our women and children, recently spilled at Fort Mimms, calls for our vengeance ; it must not call in vain. Our borders must no longer be disturbed by the war whoop of these

Address  
to his  
troops.

CHAP. savages, or the cries of suffering victims. The torch

II.

that has been lighted up, must be made to blaze in the heart of their own country. It is time they should be made to feel the weight of a power, which, because it was merciful, they believed to be impotent. But how shall a war so long forborne, and so loudly called for by retributive justice, be waged? Shall we imitate the example of our enemies, in the disorder of their movements, and the savageness of their dispositions? Is it worthy the character of American soldiers, who take up arms to redress the wrongs of an injured country, to assume no better model than that furnished them by barbarians? No, fellow soldiers; great as are the grievances that have called us from our homes, we must not permit disorderly passions to tarnish the reputation we shall carry along with us;—we must and will be victorious; but we must conquer as men who owe nothing to chance, and who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity!

“We will commence the campaign by an inviolable attention to discipline and subordination. Without a strict observance of these, victory must ever be uncertain, and ought hardly to be exulted in, even when gained. To what but the entire disregard of order and subordination, are we to ascribe the disasters which have attended our arms in the north, during the present war? How glorious will it be to remove the blots, which have tarnished the fair character bequeathed us by the fathers of our revolution! The bosom of your general is full of hope. He knows the ardour which animates you, and already exults in the triumph, which your strict observance of discipline and good order will render certain.”



For the police of his camp, he announced the following order : CHAP.  
II.

“ The chain of sentinels will be marked; and the sentries posted, precisely at ten o'clock to day.

“ No sutler will be suffered to sell spiritous liquors to any soldier, without permission, in writing, from a commissioned officer, under the penalties prescribed by the rules and articles of war.

“ No citizen will be permitted to pass the chain of sentinels, after retreat beat in the evening, until reveille in the morning. Drunkenness, the bane of all orderly encampments, is positively forbidden, both in officers and privates : officers, under the penalty of immediate arrest ; and privates, of being placed under guard, there to remain, until liberated by a court martial.

“ At reveille beat, all officers and soldiers are to appear on parade, with their arms and accoutrements in proper order.

“ On parade, silence, the duty of a soldier, is positively commanded.

“ No officer or soldier is to sleep out of camp, but by permission obtained.”

These rules, to those who had scarcely yet passed the line that separates the citizen from the soldier, and who had not yet laid aside the notions of self sovereignty, had the appearance of too much rigour ; but the general well knew, that the expedition in which they were embarked involved much hazard ; and that, although such lively feelings were manifested now, yet when hardships pressed, these might cease. He considered it much safer, therefore, to lay before them, at once, the rules of conduct to which they

CHAP. must conform; believing it might be more difficult to  
 II. drive licentiousness from his camp, than to prevent  
 its entrance.

Impatient to join his division, although his health was far from being restored, his arm only beginning to heal, the general, in a few days afterwards, set out for the encampment, and reached it on the 7th. Finding, on his arrival, that the requisition was not complete, either in the number of men, or the necessary equipments, measures were instantly taken to remedy the deficiency. Orders were directed to the several brigadiers in his division, to hasten immediately their respective quotas, fully equipped for active operations.

Circumstances did not permit him to remain at this place long enough to have the delinquencies complained of remedied, and the ranks of his army filled. Co-  
 October. lonel Coffee had proceeded with his mounted volunteers, to cover Huntsville, and give security to the frontiers. On the night of the 8th, a letter was received from him, dated two days before, advising, that two Indians, belonging to the peace party, had just arrived at the Tennessee river, from Chinnaby's fort, on the Coosa, with information that the war party had despatched eight hundred or a thousand of their warriors, to attack the frontiers of Georgia; and, with the remainder of their forces, were marching against Huntsville, or Fort Hampton. In consequence of this intelligence, exertions were made to hasten a movement. Late on the following night, another express arrived, confirming the former statement, and representing the enemy, in great force, to be rapidly approaching the Tennessee. Orders were now given for preparing the line of march,

and by nine o'clock the next day, the whole division was in motion. They had not proceeded many miles, when they were met with intelligence that colonel Gibson, who had been sent out by Coffee, to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy, had been killed by their advance. A strong desire had been manifested to be led forward; that desire was now strengthened, by the information just received; and it was with difficulty their emotions could be restrained. They mended their pace, and before eight o'clock at night, arrived at Huntsville, a distance of thirty-two miles. Learning here, that the information was erroneous, which had occasioned so hasty a movement, the general encamped his troops; having intended to march them that night to the Tennessee, had it been confirmed. The next day, the line of march was resumed. The influence of the late excitement was now visible in the lassitude which followed its removal. Proceeding slowly, they crossed the Tennessee, at Ditto's landing, and united in the evening with colonel Coffee's regiment, which had previously occupied a commanding bluff, on the south bank of the river. From this place, in a few days afterwards, Jackson detached colonel Coffee, with seven hundred men, to scour the Black Warrior, a stream running from the north-east, and emptying into the Tombigbee; on which were supposed to be settled several populous villages of the enemy. He himself remained at this encampment a week, using the utmost pains, in training his troops for service, and labouring incessantly to procure the necessary supplies for a campaign, which he had determined to carry directly into the heart of the enemy's

CHAP. country. Towards the latter object, his attention had  
II. been invariably directed, and his industry employed, from the time the expedition was projected.

With major general Cocke, who commanded the division of East Tennessee militia, an arrangement had been made, the preceding month, in which he had engaged to furnish large quantities of bread stuff, at Ditto's landing. The facility of procuring it in that quarter, and the convenient transportation afforded by the river, left no doubt on the mind of Jackson, but that the engagement would be punctually complied with. To provide, however, against the bare possibility of a failure, and to be guarded against all contingencies that might happen, he had addressed his applications to various other sources. He had, on the same subject, written in the most pressing manner, to the governor of Georgia, with whose forces it was proposed to act in concert; to colonel Meigs, agent to the Cherokee nation of Indians; and to general White, who commanded the advance of the East Tennessee troops. Previously to his arrival at Huntsville, he had received assurances from the two latter, that a considerable supply of flour, for the use of his army, had been procured, and was then at Hiwassee, where boats were ready to transport it. From general Cocke himself, about the same time, a letter was received, stating that a hundred and fifty barrels of flour were then on the way to his encampment, and expressing a belief, that he should be able to procure, and forward on immediately, a thousand barrels more. With pressing importunity, he had addressed himself to the contractors, and they had given him assurances, that on his crossing the Tennessee,

they would be prepared with twenty days' rations, for his whole command; but finding, on his arrival at Ditto's, that their preparations were not in such forwardness as he had been led to expect, he was compelled, for a time, to suspend any general operations. Calculating, however, with great confidence, on exertions, which, he had been promised, should be unremitting; and on the speedy arrival of those supplies, descending the river, which had been already unaccountably delayed; he hoped, in a few days, to be placed in a situation to act efficiently. Whilst he was encouraged by these expectations, Shelocta, the son of Chinnaby, a principal chief among the friendly Creeks, arrived at his camp, to solicit his speedy movement, for the relief of his father's fort, which was then threatened by a considerable body of the war party, who had advanced to the neighbourhood of the Ten Islands, on the Coosa. Influenced by his representations, Jackson, on the 18th, gave orders for taking up the line of march on the following day, and notified the contractors of this arrangement, that they might be prepared to issue, immediately, such supplies as they had on hand; but, to his great astonishment, he then, for the first time, was apprised of their entire inability to supply him, whilst on his march. Having drawn what they had in their power to furnish, amounting to only a few days' rations, they were deposed, and others appointed, on whose industry and performance, he believed, he might more safely rely. The scarcity of his provisions, however, at a moment like the present, when there was every appearance that the enemy might be met, and a blow stricken to advantage, was

CHAP.  
II.

CHAP. not sufficient to waver his determination, already taken.

II.

The route he would have to make, to gain the fort, lay, for a considerable distance, up the river: might not the boats, long expected from Hiwassee, and which he felt strongly assured must be near at hand, be met with on the way? He determined to proceed; and, having passed his army and baggage wagons over several mountains of stupendous size, and such as were thought almost impassable by foot passengers, he arrived, on the 22d of October, at Thompson's creek, which empties into the Tennessee, twenty-four miles above Ditto's. Here he proposed the establishment of a permanent depot, for the reception of supplies, to be sent either up or down the river. Disappointed in the hopes with which he had adventured on his march, he remained here several days, in expectation of the boats that were coming to his relief. Thus harassed at the first onset, by difficulties wholly unexpected; and fearing that the same disregard of duty might induce a continuance, he lost no time in opening every avenue to expedient, that the chances of future failure might be diminished. To general Flournoy, who commanded at Mobile, he applied, urging him to procure bread stuff, and have it forwarded up the Alabama, by the time he should arrive on that river. The agent of the Choctaws, colonel M'Kee, who was then on the Tombigbee, was addressed in the same style of intreaty. Expresses were despatched to general Cocke and general White, who, with the advance of the East Tennessee division, had arrived at the Look Out mountain, in the Cherokee nation, urging them to hasten on supplies. The assistance of the governor of

Tennessee, was also earnestly besought. To facilitate CHAP.  
II. the exertions of the contractors, and to assure success, every thing within his reach was attempted: several persons of wealth and patriotism, in Madison county, were solicited to afford them all the aid in their power; and, to induce them more readily to extend it, their deep interest, immediately at stake, was pointed to, and their deplorable and dangerous situation, should necessity compel him to withdraw his army, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the savages.

Whilst these measures were taking, two runners, from Turkey town, despatched by Path-killer, a chief of the Cherokees, arrived at the camp. They brought information, that the enemy, from nine of the hostile towns, were assembling in great force near the Ten Islands; and solicited, that immediate assistance should be afforded the friendly Creeks and Cherokees, in their neighbourhood, who were exposed to such imminent danger. His want of provisions was not yet remedied; but, distributing the partial supply that was on hand, he resolved to proceed, in expectation that the relief he had so earnestly looked for, would, in a little while, arrive, and be forwarded on. To prepare his troops for an engagement, which he foresaw was soon to take place, he thus addressed them:

“ You have, fellow soldiers, at length penetrated the country of your enemies. It is not to be believed, Address. that they will abandon the soil that embosoms the bones of their forefathers, without furnishing you an opportunity of signalizing your valour. Wise men do not expect; brave men will not desire it. It was not to travel unmolested, through a barren wilderness, that

CHAP. you quitted your families and homes, and submitted  
II.

to so many privations ; it was to avenge the cruelties, committed upon our defenceless frontiers, by the inhuman Creeks, instigated by their no less inhuman allies ; you shall not be disappointed. If the enemy flee before us, we will overtake, and chastise him ; we will teach him, how dreadful, when once aroused, is the resentment of freemen. But it is not by boasting, that punishment is to be inflicted, or victory obtained. The same resolution, that prompted us to take up arms, must inspire us in battle. Men thus animated, and thus resolved, barbarians can never conquer ; and it is an enemy, barbarous in the extreme, that we have now to face. Their reliance will be, on the damage they can do you, whilst you are asleep, and unprepared for action : their hopes shall fail them, in the hour of experiment. Soldiers, who know their duty, and are ambitious to perform it, are not to be taken by surprise. Our sentinels will never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared for action : yet, whilst it is enjoined upon the sentinels, vigilantly to watch the approach of the foe, they are, at the same time, commanded not to fire at shadows. Imaginary danger must not deprive them of entire self possession. Our soldiers will lie with their arms in their hands : and the moment an alarm is given, they will move to their respective positions, without noise, and without confusion ; they will be thus enabled to hear the orders of their officers, and to obey them with promptitude.

“ Great reliance will be placed, by the enemy, on the consternation they may be able to spread through our ranks, by the hideous yells with which they commence



their battles; but brave men will laugh at such efforts to alarm them. It is not by bellowings and screams, that the wounds of death are inflicted. You will teach these noisy assailants, how weak are their weapons of warfare, by opposing them with the bayonet; what Indian ever withstood its charge? what army, of any nation, ever withstood it long?

CHAP.

II.

“Yes, soldiers, the order for a charge, will be the signal for victory. In that moment, your enemy will be seen, fleeing in every direction before you. But in the moment of action, coolness and deliberation must be regarded; your fires made with precision and aim; and when ordered to charge with the bayonet, you must proceed to the assault with a quick and firm step; without trepidation or alarm. Then shall you behold the completion of your hopes in the discomfiture of your enemy. Your general, whose duty, as well as inclination, is to watch over your safety, will not, to gratify any wishes of his own, rush you unnecessarily into danger. He knows, however, that it is not in assailing an enemy, that men are destroyed; it is when retreating, and in confusion. Aware of this, he will be prompted as much by a regard for your lives, as your honour. He laments that he has been compelled, even incidentally, to hint at a retreat when speaking to freemen, and to soldiers. Never, until you forget all that is due to yourselves and your country, will you have any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy, wholly unacquainted with military evolution, and who rely more for victory on their grim visages, and hideous yells, than upon their bravery, or their weapons; shall such an enemy, ever drive before them, the well-

CHAP. trained youths of our country, whose bosoms pant  
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for glory, and a desire to avenge the wrongs they have received? Your general will not live to behold such a spectacle; rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy, and submit himself to their scalping knives; but he has no fears of such a result. He knows the valour of the men he commands, and how certainly that valour, regulated as it will be, will lead to victory. With his soldiers he will face all dangers, and with them participate in the glory of conquest."

Having thus prepared the minds of his men, and brought to their view the kind of foe, with whom they were shortly to contend; and having also, by his expresses, instructed general White, to form a junction with him, and to hasten on all the supplies, in his power to command; with about six days' rations of meat, and less than two of meal, he again put his army in motion, to meet the enemy. Although there was some hazard, in advancing into a country where relief was not to be expected, with such limited preparation, yet believing that his contractors, lately installed, would exert themselves to the utmost, to forward supplies; and well aware that his delaying longer might be productive of many disadvantages, his determination was taken, to set out in quest of the enemy. He replied to the Path-killer, by his runners, that he should proceed immediately for the Coosa, and solicited him to be diligent in making discoveries of the situation and collected forces of the savages, and to give him the result of his inquiries.

"The hostile Creeks," he remarked to him, "will not attack you, until they have had a brush with me ; and that, I think, will put them out of the notion of fighting, for some time."

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He requested that if he had, or could any how procure, provisions for his army, he would send them, or advise where they might be had : "You shall be well paid, and have my thanks into the bargain. I shall stand most in need of corn meal, but shall be thankful for any kind of meat ; and indeed for whatever will support life."

The army had advanced but a short distance, when unexpected embarrassments were again presented. Information was received, by which it was clearly ascertained, that the present contractors, who had been so much and so certainly relied on, could not, with all their exertions, procure the necessary supplies. Major Rose, in the quarter-master's department, who had been sent back to Madison, to aid them in their endeavours, having satisfied himself, as well from their own admissions, as from evidence derived from other sources, that their want of funds, and consequent want of credit, rendered them a very unsafe dependence, returned, and disclosed the facts to the general. He stated, that there were there persons of fortune and industry, who would be willing to contract for the army, if it were necessary. Jackson lost no time in embracing this plan, and gave the contract to Mr. Pope, upon whose means and exertions, he hoped, every reliance might be safely reposed. To the other contractors he wrote, informing them of the change that had been made, and the reasons that had induced it.

## CHAP.

## II.

“I am advised,” said he, “that you have candidly acknowledged, that you have it not in your power to execute the contract in which you have engaged. Do not think I mean to cast any reflection—very far from it. I am exceedingly pleased with the exertions you have made, and feel myself under many obligations of gratitude for them. The critical situation of affairs, when you entered into the contract, being considered, you have done all that individuals, in your circumstances, could have performed. But you must be well convinced, that any approbation which may be felt by the commander of an army, for past services, ought not to become the occasion of that army’s destruction. From the admissions you have been candid enough to make, the scarcity which already begins to appear in camp, and the difficulties you are likely to encounter, in effecting your engagements, I am apprehensive I should be doing injustice to the army I command, were I to rely for support on your exertions—great as I know them to be. Whatever concerns myself, I may manage with any generosity or indulgence I please; but in acting for an army, I have no such discretion. I have therefore felt myself compelled to give the contract in which you are concerned, to another, who is abundantly able to execute it; on condition he indemnify you for the trouble you have been at.”

This arrangement being made, the army continued its march, and having arrived within a few miles of the Ten Islands, was met by old Chinnaby, a leading chief of the Creek nation, and sternly opposed to the war party. He brought with him, and surrendered up, two of the hostile Creeks, who had been lately made

prisoners by his party. At this place, it was represented, that they were within sixteen miles of the enemy, who were collected, to the number of a thousand, to oppose their passage. This information was little relied on, and afterwards proved untrue. Jackson continued his route, and in a few days reached the islands of the Coosa; having been detained a day on the way, for the purpose of obtaining small supplies of corn from the neighbouring Indians. This acquisition to the scanty stock on hand, whilst it afforded subsistence for the present, encouraged his hopes for the future, as a mean of temporary resort, should his other resources fail.

In a letter to governor Blount, from this place, speaking of the difficulties with which he was assailed, he observes:—"Indeed, sir, we have been very wretchedly supplied—scarcely two rations in succession have been regularly drawn; yet we are not despondent. Whilst we can procure an ear of corn a-piece, or any thing that will answer as a substitute for it, we shall continue our exertions, to accomplish the object for which we were sent. The cheerfulness with which my men submit to privations, and are ready to encounter danger, does honour to the government whose rights they are defending.

"Every mean within my power, for procuring the requisite supplies for my army, I have taken, and am continuing to take. East, west, north, and south have been applied to, with the most pressing solicitation. The governor of Georgia, in a letter received from him this evening, informs me, that a sufficiency can be had in his state; but does not signify that he is about to

CHAP. II. take any measures to procure it. My former contract-  
 or has been superseded: no exertions were spared by  
 him, to fulfil his engagements; yet the inconveniences  
 under which he laboured, were such as to render his  
 best exertions unavailing. The contract has been of-  
 fered to one who will be able to execute it: if he ac-  
 cept it, my apprehensions will be greatly diminished."

On the 28th of October, colonel Dyer, who, on the  
 march to the Ten Islands, had been detached from the  
 main body, with two hundred cavalry, to attack Littafut-  
 chee town, on the head of Canoe creek, which empties  
 into the Coosa from the west, returned, bringing with  
 him twenty-nine prisoners, men, women, and children;  
 having destroyed the village.

The sanguine expectations indulged, on leaving  
 Thompson's creek,—that the advance of the East Ten-  
 nessee militia would hasten to unite with him, was not  
 yet realized. The express heretofore directed to general  
 White, had not returned. Jackson, on the 31st, dis-  
 patched another, urging him to effect a speedy junction,  
 and to bring with him all the bread stuff it should be  
 in his power to procure; pointing out to him, at the  
 same time, the great inconvenience and hazard to which  
 he had been already exposed, for the want of punctu-  
 ality in himself and general Cocke. Owing to that  
 cause, and the late failures of his contractors, he repre-  
 sented his army as placed, at present, in a very preca-  
 rious situation, and as dependent, in a great measure,  
 for its support, on the exertions which he and general  
 Cocke might be pleased to make; but assured him, at  
 the same time, that, let circumstances transpire as they  
 might, he would still endeavour to effect his purpose;

and, at all events, was resolved to hasten, with every practicable despatch, to the accomplishment of the object for which he had set out. Believing the co-operation of the East Tennessee troops essential to this end, they were again instructed to join him without delay; for he could not conceive it to be correct policy, that troops from the same state, pursuing the same object, should constitute separate and distinct armies, and act without concert, and independently of each other. He entertained no doubt but that his order would be promptly obeyed.

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The next evening, a detachment, which had been sent out the day before, returned to camp, bringing with them, besides some corn and bettes, several negroes and prisoners of the war party.

Learning now, that a considerable body of the enemy had posted themselves at Tallushatchee, on the south side of the Coosa, about thirteen miles distant; general Coffee was detached, with nine hundred men, (the mounted troops having been previously organized into a brigade, and placed under his command) to attack and disperse them. With this force, he was enabled, through the direction of an Indian pilot, to ford the Coosa, at the Fish-dams, about four miles above the Islands; and having encamped beyond it, very early the next morning proceeded to the execution of his order. Having arrived within a mile and a half, he formed his detachment into two divisions, and directed them to march so as to encircle the town, by uniting their fronts beyond it. The enemy, hearing of his approach, began to prepare for action, which was announced by the beating of drums, mingled with yells

CHAP.  
II.Battle of  
Tallushatchee.

and war whoops. An hour after sun-rise, the action was commenced by captain Hammon's and lieutenant Patterson's companies of spies, who had gone within the circle of alignement, for the purpose of drawing the Indians from their buildings. No sooner had these companies exhibited their front in view of the town, and given a few scattering shot, than the enemy formed, and made a violent charge. Being compelled to give way, they were pursued, until they reached the main body of the army, which immediately opened a general fire, and charged in their turn. The Indians retreated, firing, until they got around, and in their buildings, where an obstinate conflict ensued, and where those who maintained their ground persisted in fighting, as long as they could stand or sit, without manifesting fear, or soliciting quarter. Their loss was an hundred and eighty-six killed; among whom were, unfortunately, and through accident, a few women and children. Eighty-four women and children were taken prisoners, towards whom the utmost humanity was shown. Of the Americans, five were killed, and forty-one wounded. Two were killed with arrows, which, on this occasion, formed a principal part of the arms of the Indians; each one having a bow and quiver, which he used after the first fire of his gun, until an opportunity occurred for re-loading.

Having buried his dead, and provided for his wounded, general Coffee, late on the evening of the same day, united with the main army, bringing with him about forty prisoners. Of the residue, a part were too badly wounded to be removed, and were therefore left, with a sufficient number to take care of



them. Those which he brought in, received every comfort and assistance their situation demanded, and, for safety, were immediately sent into the settlements. CHAP.  
II.

From the manner in which the enemy fought, the killing and wounding others than their warriors was not to be avoided. On their retreat to their village, after the commencement of the battle, they resorted to their block houses, and strong log dwellings, whence they kept up resistance, and resolutely maintained the fight. Thus mingled with their women and children, it was impossible they should not be exposed to the general danger; and thus many were injured, notwithstanding every possible precaution was taken to prevent it.

## CHAPTER III.

Endeavours to unite with the East Tennessee troops.—Establishment of Fort Strother.—Learns the enemy are embodied.—Marches to meet them.—Battle of Talladega.—Is compelled to return to his encampment, for want of supplies.—Discontents of his army.—Militia and volunteers mutiny.—Address to the officers.—Is compelled to abandon Fort Strother.—Hillabee clans sue for peace.—Letter from the Rev. Mr. Blackburn.—Answer.—The volunteers claim to be discharged.—Mutiny.—Address to them.—General Cocke arrives with part of his division.—General Coffee's brigade petitions for a discharge.—General Jackson's answer.—They abandon the service, and go home.

CHAP. MEASURES were now taken, to establish a permanent depot, on the north bank of the river, at the  
 III. Ten Islands, to be protected by strong picketting and  
 1813. block houses; after which, it was the intention of Jackson to proceed down the Coosa, to its junction with the Tallapoosa, near which it was expected, the  
 December main force of the enemy was collected. Well knowing that it would take away much of the strength of his army, to occupy, in his advance, the different points necessary to the safety of his rear, it was desirable to unite, as soon as possible, with the troops from the east of Tennessee: to effect this, he again, on the 4th, despatched an express to general White, who had previously, with his command, arrived at Turkey town, a Cherokee village, about twenty-five miles above, on

the same river, urging him to unite with him as soon as possible, and again intreating him on the subject of provisions ;—to bring with him such as he had on hand, or could procure ; and, if possible, to form some certain arrangement, that might insure a supply in future.

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III.

Anxious to proceed, and have his army serviceably employed, which he believed practicable, as soon as a junction could be effected ; he again, on the morning of the 7th, renewed his application to general White, who still remained at Turkey town.

As yet, no certain intelligence was received, of any collection of the enemy. The army was busily engaged in fortifying and strengthening the site fixed on for a depot, to which the name of Fort Strother had been given. Late, however, on the evening of the 7th, a runner arrived from Talladega, a fort of the friendly Indians, distant about thirty miles below, with information, that the enemy had, that morning, encamped before it in great numbers, and would certainly destroy it, unless immediate assistance could be afforded. Jackson, confiding in the statement, determined to lose no time, in extending the relief which was solicited. Understanding that general White was on his way to join him, he despatched a messenger to meet him, directing him to reach his encampment in the course of the ensuing night, and protect it in his absence. He now gave orders for taking up the line of march, with twelve hundred infantry, and eight hundred cavalry and mounted gun men ; leaving behind, the sick, the wounded, and all his baggage, with a force which was deemed sufficient for their protection, until the reinforcement from Turkey town should arrive. The

CHAP. Indians, who had taken refuge in this besieged fort,  
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had involved themselves in their present perilous situation, from a disposition to preserve their friendly relations with the United States. To suffer them to fall a sacrifice, from any tardiness of movement, would have been unpardonable; and unless relief were immediately extended, it might arrive too late. Acting under these impressions, the general concluded to move instantly forward to their assistance. By twelve o'clock at night, every thing was in readiness; and, in an hour afterwards, the army commenced crossing the river, about a mile above the camp,—each of the mounted men carrying one of the infantry behind him. The river, at this place, was six hundred yards wide, and it being necessary to send back the horses, for the remainder of the infantry, several hours were consumed, before a passage of all the troops could be effected. Nevertheless, though thus deprived of sleep, they continued the march with animation, and by evening had arrived within six miles of the enemy. In this march, Jackson used the utmost circumspection to prevent surprise; marching his army, as was his constant custom, in three columns, so that, by a speedy manoeuvre, they might be thrown into such a situation, as to be capable of resisting an attack from any quarter. Having judiciously encamped his men on an eligible piece of ground, he sent forward two of the friendly Indians, and a white man, who had, for many years, been detained a captive in the nation, and was now acting as interpreter, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. About eleven o'clock at night, they returned, with information, that the savages were posted within a quar-

ter of a mile of the fort, and appeared to be in great force; but that they had not been able to approach near enough to ascertain either their numbers, or precise situation. Within an hour after this, a runner arrived from Turkey town, with a letter from general White, stating, that after having taken up the line of march, to unite at Fort Strother, he had received orders from general Cocke, to change his course, and proceed to the mouth of Chatuga creek. This unexpected and disagreeable intelligence filled Jackson with astonishment and apprehensions; and dreading, lest the enemy, by taking a different route, should attack his encampment in his absence, he determined to lose no time, in bringing him to battle. Orders were accordingly given to the adjutant general to prepare the line, and by four o'clock in the morning, the army was again in motion. The infantry proceeded in three columns; the cavalry in the same order, in the rear, with flankers on each wing. The advance, consisting of a company of artillerists, with muskets, two companies of riflemen, and one of spies, marched about four hundred yards in front, under the command of colonel Carroll, the inspector general; with orders, after commencing the action, to fall back on the centre, so as to draw the enemy after them. At seven o'clock, having arrived within a mile of the position they occupied, the columns were displayed in order of battle. Two hundred and fifty of the cavalry, under lieutenant colonel Dyer, were placed in the rear of the centre, as a corps de reserve. The remainder of the mounted troops were directed to advance, on the right and left, and, after encircling the enemy, by uniting the fronts of their

CHAP. columns, and keeping their rear rested on the infantry,  
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to face and press towards the centre, so as to leave them no possibility of escape. The remaining part of the army was ordered to move up, by heads of companies; general Hall's brigade occupying the right, and general Roberts's the left.

About eight o'clock, the advance having arrived within eighty yards of the enemy, who were concealed in a thick shrubbery, that covered the margin of a small rivulet, received a heavy fire, which they instantly returned with much spirit. Agreeably to their instructions, they fell back towards the centre, but not before they had dislodged the enemy from his position. The Indians now screaming and yelling hideously, rushed forward in the direction of general Roberts's brigade; a few companies of which, alarmed by their numbers and yells, fled at the first fire. Jackson, to fill the chasm which was thus created, directed the regiment commanded by colonel Bradley, to be moved up, which, from some unaccountable cause, had failed to advance, in a line with the others, and now occupied a position in rear of the centre: Bradley, however, to whom this order was given by one of the staff, could not be prevailed on to execute it in time, alleging, he was determined to remain on the eminence which he then possessed, until the enemy should approach and attack him. Owing to this failure, in the volunteer regiment, it became necessary to dismount the reserve, which, with great firmness, met the approach of the enemy, who were rapidly moving in this direction. The retreating militia, seeing their places supplied, rallied, and, recovering their former position in the line, aided

Battle of  
Talladega.

in checking the advance of the savages. The action now became general along the line, and in fifteen minutes the Indians were seen flying in every direction. On the left, they were met and repulsed by the mounted riflemen; but on the right, owing to the halt of Bradley's regiment, which was intended to occupy the extreme right,—and to the circumstance of colonel Allcorn, who commanded one of the wings of the cavalry, having taken too large a circuit, a considerable space was left between the infantry and the cavalry, through which numbers escaped. The fight was maintained with great spirit and effect on both sides, as well before, as after the retreat commenced; nor did the savages escape the pursuit and slaughter, until they reached the mountains, at the distance of three miles.

Jackson, in his report of this action, bestows high commendation on the officers and soldiers. "Too much praise," he observes, in the close of it, "cannot be bestowed on the advance, led by colonel Carroll, for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack; nor upon the reserve, commanded by lieutenant colonel Dyer, for the gallantry with which they met, and repulsed the enemy. In a word, officers of every grade, as well as privates, realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and merit the gratitude of their country."

In this battle, the force of the enemy was one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground; and it is believed that many were killed in the flight, who were not found when the estimate was made. Probably few escaped unhurt. Their loss on this occasion, as stated since

CHAP. by themselves, was not less than six hundred: that  
III.

of the Americans was fifteen killed, and eighty wounded, several of whom afterwards died. Jackson, after collecting his dead and wounded, advanced his army beyond the fort, and encamped for the night. The Indians, who had been for several days shut up by the besiegers, thus fortunately liberated from the most dreadful apprehensions, and severest privations, having for some time been entirely without water, received the army with all the demonstrations of gratitude, that savages could give. Their manifestations of joy for their deliverance, presented an interesting and affecting spectacle. Their fears had been already greatly excited, for it was the very day when they were to have been assaulted, and when every soul within the fort must have perished. All the provisions they could spare, from their scanty stock, they sold to the general, who, purchasing with his own money, distributed them amongst the soldiers, who were almost destitute.

It was with great regret, that Jackson now found he was without the means of availing himself fully of the advantages of his victory; but the condition of his posts in the rear, and the want of provisions, (having left his encampment at Fort Strother with little more than one day's rations,) compelled him to hasten back; thus giving the enemy time to recover from their consternation, and to re-assemble their forces.

The cause which prevented general White from acting in obedience to his order, and arriving at the Ten Islands at a moment when it was so important, and so confidently expected, was as yet unknown; the only certainty upon the subject was, that for the pre-



sent it wholly thwarted his views, and laid him under the necessity of returning. This mystery, hitherto inexplicable, was soon after explained, by a view of the order of general Cocke, under which White, being a brigadier in his division, chose to act, rather than under Jackson's. General Cocke stated to him, he had understood, Jackson had crossed the Coosa, and had an engagement with the Indians. "I have formed a council of officers here, and proposed these questions;—shall we follow him, or cross the river, and proceed to the Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa?—Both were decided unanimously: that he should not be followed, but that we should proceed in the way proposed." He remarked, that the decision had met his entire approbation; and directed White forthwith to unite with him at his encampment, where he should wait, fortifying it strongly for a depot, until he should arrive. "If," said he, "we follow general Jackson and his army, we must suffer for supplies; nor can we expect to gain a victory. Let us then take a direction, in which we can share some of the dangers and glories of the field. You will employ pilots, and advise me which side of the river you will move up." In this, as in every other measure, it seemed to be the studied aim of Cocke, to thwart the views, and arrest the successes of Jackson; and perhaps jealousy, in no inconsiderable degree, was the moving spring to his conduct. Both were major generals, from the state of Tennessee; sent on the same important errand,—to check an insolent foe, who had practised the most cruel and unprovoked outrages. Which of them should share the "dangers and glories of the field," was, per-

CHAP. haps, not so important to the country, as that they  
III. should, by acting in concert and harmony, endeavour  
to accomplish the grand object intended. National,  
and not individual advancement, was the inducement  
to carry an army into the field : and the best and most  
effectual mean of securing this, every officer, acting on  
liberal principles, should have constantly held in view.

Having buried his dead with all due honour, and  
provided litters for the wounded, he reluctantly com-  
menced his return march, on the morning succeeding  
the battle. He confidently hoped, from the previous  
assurances of the contractors, that by the time of his  
return to Fort Strother, sufficient supplies would have  
arrived there ; but, to his inexpressible uneasiness,  
he found, that not a particle had been forwarded  
since his departure, and that what had been left  
Scarcity of provisions. was already consumed. Even his private stores,  
brought on at his own expense, and upon which he  
and his staff had hitherto wholly subsisted, had been,  
in his absence, distributed amongst the sick by the  
hospital surgeon, who had been previously instructed  
to do so, in the event their wants should require it.  
A few dozen biscuit, which remained on his return,  
were given to hungry applicants, without being  
tasted by himself or family, who were probably not  
less hungry than those who were thus relieved. A  
scanty supply of beef, taken from the enemy, or pur-  
chased of the Cherokees, was now the only support af-  
forded. Thus left destitute, Jackson, with the utmost  
cheerfulness of temper, repaired to the bullock pen,  
and of the offal there thrown away, provided for him-  
self and staff, what he was pleased to call, and seemed

really to think, a very comfortable repast. Tripes, CHAP.  
III. however, hastily provided in a camp, without bread or seasoning, can only be palatable to an appetite very highly whetted; yet this constituted, for several days, the only diet at head quarters, during which time the general seemed entirely satisfied with his fare. Neither this, nor the liberal donations by which he dis-furnished himself, to relieve the suffering soldier, should be ascribed to ostentation or design: the one flowed from benevolence, the other from necessity, and a desire to place before his men an example of patience and suffering, which he felt might be necessary, and hoped might be serviceable. Of these two imputations, no human being, invested with rank and power, was ever more deservedly free. Charity in him is a warm and active propensity of the heart, urging him, by an instantaneous impulse, to relieve the wants of the distressed, without regarding, or even thinking of the consequences. Many of those to whom it was extended, had no conception of the source that supplied them, and believed the comforts they received were drawn from stores provided for the hospital department.

But while general Jackson remained wholly unmoved by his own privations, he was filled with solicitude and concern for his army. His utmost exertions, unceasingly applied, were insufficient to remove the sufferings to which he saw them exposed; and although they were by no means so great as they themselves represented, yet were undoubtedly such as to be severely felt. Discontents, and a desire to return home,

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III.

arose, and presently spread through the camp ; and these were still further embittered and augmented, by the arts of a few designing officers, who, believing that the campaign would now break up, hoped to make themselves popular, on the return, by encouraging and taking part in the complaints of the soldiery. It is a singular fact, that those officers who pretended, on this occasion, to feel the most sensibly for the wants of the army, and contrived the most effectually to instigate it to revolt, had never themselves been without provisions ; and were, at that very moment, enjoying in abundance what would have relieved the distresses of many, had it been as generously and freely distributed as were their words of advice and condolence.

During this period of scarcity and discontent, small quantities of supplies were occasionally forwarded by the contractors ; but not sufficient for present wants, and still less to remove the apprehensions that were indulged for the future. At length, revolt began to show itself openly. The officers and soldiers of the militia, collecting in their tents, and talking over their grievances, determined to abandon the camp. To this measure, there were good evidences for believing, that several of the officers of the old volunteer corps exerted themselves clandestinely, and with great industry, to instigate them ; looking upon themselves somewhat in the light of veterans, from the discipline they had acquired in the expedition to the lower country, they were unwilling to be seen foremost, in setting an example of mutiny, and wished to make the defection of others a pretext for their own.

Jackson, apprized of their determination to abandon him, resolved to oppose it, and, at all hazard, to prevent a departure. In the morning, when they were to carry their intentions into execution, he drew up the volunteers in front of them, with positive commands to prevent their progress, and compel them to return to their former position in the camp. The militia, seeing this, and fearing the consequences of persisting in their purpose, at once abandoned it, and returned to their quarters, without further murmuring; extolling, in the highest terms, the unalterable firmness of the general.

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III.

Mutiny of  
the militia

The next day, however, presented a singular scene. The volunteers, who, the day before, had been the instruments for compelling the militia to return to their duty, seeing the destruction of those hopes on which they had lately built, in turn began to mutiny themselves. Their opposition to the departure of the militia was but a mere pretence to escape suspicion; for they silently wished them success. They now determined to move off in a body, believing, from the known disaffection in the camp, that the general could find no means to prevent it. What was their surprise, however, when, on attempting to effectuate their resolves, they found the same men whom they had so lately opposed, occupying the very position which they had done the day previous, for a similar purpose, and manifesting a fixed determination to obey the orders of their general! All they ventured to do, was to take the example through, and, like them, move back in peace and quietness to their quarters. This was a curious change of circumstances, when we consider in how short a time it happened; but the conduct of the militia,

Mutiny of  
the volun-  
teers.

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on this occasion, must, in some measure, be ascribed to the gratification they felt, in being able to defeat the views of those, who had so lately thwarted their own. To this may be also added, the consciousness all must have entertained, that the privations of which they complained, were far less grievous than they had represented them; by no means sufficient to justify revolt, and not greater than a patriot might be expected to bear without a murmur. But, anxious to return to their families and kindred, and recount the late brilliant exploits of their first battle, they seized with eagerness every pretext for exoneration, and listened with too much docility to the representations of those, who were influenced by less honest feelings. Having many domestic considerations to attend to—the first ebullition of resentment being cooled, and the first impulse of curiosity gratified; there were no motives to retain them in the field, but a remaining sense of honour, and a fear of disgrace and punishment, should they abandon their post without a cause. But although these motives were sufficient for the present, those who were governed by them did not cease to wish, that a more plausible apology might offer for dispensing with their operation. The militia continued to show a much more obedient and patriotic disposition than the volunteers, who, having adopted a course which they discovered must finally involve them in dishonour, if it should fail, were exceedingly anxious for its success, and that it might have the appearance of being founded on justice. On this subject, the pretensions of the cavalry were certainly much better established; as they were entirely without forage, and

without the prospect of obtaining any very soon. They petitioned therefore to be permitted to return into the settled parts of the country, pledging themselves, by their platoon and field officers, that if sufficient time were allowed them, to recruit the exhausted state of their horses, and to procure their winter clothing, they would return whenever called on. The general, unable, from many causes, to prosecute the campaign, granted the prayer of their petition, and they immediately set out on their return.

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III.

About this time, general Jackson's prospect of being able to maintain the conquests he had made, began to be cheered, by letters just received from the contractors, and principal wagon-master, stating, that sufficient supplies for the army were then on the road, and would shortly arrive at his camp. These letters he hastened to lay before the division, and at the same time invited the field and platoon officers to his quarters that evening, to consult on the measures proper to be pursued. Having assembled them, and well knowing that the flame of discontent, which had so lately shewn itself, was only for the present smothered, and might yet burst forth in serious injury, he addressed them in an animated speech, in which he extolled their patriotism and achievements; lamented the privations to which they had been exposed; and endeavoured to re-animate them by the prospect of speedy relief, which he expected with confidence on the following day. He spoke of the immense importance of the conquests they had already made, and of the dreadful consequences that must result, if they were now abandoned. "What," continued he, "is the present situation of our camp?"

Address  
to the  
officers

CHAP.

III.

able to help themselves. Shall it be said that we are so lost to humanity, as to leave them in this condition? Can any one, under these circumstances, and under these prospects, consent to an abandonment of the camp; of all that we have acquired in the midst of so many difficulties, privations, and dangers; of what it will cost us so much to regain; of what we never can regain,—our brave wounded companions, who will be murdered by our unthinking, unfeeling inhumanity? Surely there can be none such! No, we will take with us, when we go, our wounded and sick. They must not,—shall not perish by our cold-blooded indifference. But why should you despond? I do not, and yet your wants are not greater than mine. To be sure, we do not live sumptuously: but no one has died of hunger, or is likely to die; and then how animating are our prospects! Large supplies are at Deposit, and already are officers despatched to hasten them on. Wagons are on the way: a large number of beeves are in the neighbourhood; and detachments are out to bring them in.—All these resources surely cannot fail. I have no wish to starve you—none to deceive you. Stay contentedly; and if supplies do not arrive in two days, we will all march back together, and throw the blame of our failure where it should properly lie; until then, we certainly have the means of subsisting; and if we are compelled to bear privations, let us remember that they are borne for our country, and are not greater than many—perhaps most armies have been compelled to endure. I have called you together to tell you my feelings and my wishes; this evening, think on them seriously; and let me know yours in the morning.”



On retiring to their tents, and deliberating on the measures most proper to be adopted in this emergency, the officers of the volunteer brigade came to this conclusion; that "nothing short of marching the army immediately back to the settlements, could prevent that disgrace, which must attend a forcible desertion of the camp by the soldiers." The officers of the militia determined differently, and reported a willingness to maintain the post a few days longer, that it might be ascertained whether or not a sufficiency of provisions could really be had. "If it can, let us proceed with the campaign;—if not, let us be marched back to where it can be procured." The general, who greatly preferred the latter opinion, was, nevertheless, disposed to gratify those, who appeared unwilling to submit to further hardships; and with this view ordered general Hall to march his brigade to Fort Deposit, and after satisfying their wants, to return, and act as an escort to the provisions. The second regiment, however, unwilling to be outdone by the militia, consented to remain; and the first proceeded alone. On this occasion, he could not forbear to remark, that men for whom he had ever cherished so warm an affection, and for whom he would at all times have made any sacrifice, desiring to abandon him at a moment when their presence was so particularly necessary, filled him with emotions which the strongest language was too feeble to express. "I was prepared," he continued, "to endure every evil but disgrace; and this, as I never can submit to myself, I can give no encouragement to in others."

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Two days had elapsed since the departure of the volunteers, and no supplies had arrived. The militia, with great earnestness, now demanded a performance of the pledge that had been given,—that they should be marched back to the settlements. Jackson, on giving them an assurance that they should return, if relief did not reach them in two days, had indulged a confidence that it would certainly arrive by that time; and now felt more than ever certain, that it could not be far distant. Having, however, pledged himself, he could use no arguments or entreaties to detain them any longer, and immediately took measures for complying with their wishes. This was, to him, a moment of the deepest dejection. He foresaw how difficult it would be, ever to accomplish the object upon which his heart was so devotedly fixed, should he lose the men who were now with him; or even to regain the conquests he had made, if his present posts should fall into the hands of the enemy. While thus pondering on the gloomy prospect, he lifted up his hands and exclaimed, with a look and manner which showed how much he felt—"If only two men will remain with me, I will never abandon this post." Captain Gordon, of the spies, facetiously replied, "you have one, general, let us look if we can't find another," and immediately, with a zeal suited to the occasion, undertook, with some of the general staff, to raise volunteers; and in a little while succeeded in procuring one hundred and nine, who declared a determination to remain and protect the post. The general greatly rejoiced that he would not be compelled to an entire abandonment of his position, now set out towards Deposit, with the re-

With-  
draws  
from Fort  
Strother.

mainder of the army, who were made distinctly to understand, that on meeting supplies they were to return and prosecute the campaign. This was an event, which, as it had been expected and foretold, soon took place: they had not proceeded more than ten or twelve miles, when they met a hundred and fifty beeves; but a sight which gave to Jackson so much satisfaction, was to them the most disagreeable and unwelcome. Their faces being now turned towards home, no spectacle could be more hateful, than one which was to change their destination. They were halted, and having satisfied their hungry appetites, the troops, with the exception of such as were necessary to proceed with the sick and wounded, were ordered to return to the encampment,—he himself intending to see the contractors, and establish more effectual arrangements for the future. So great was their aversion to returning, that they preferred a violation of their duty, and their pledged honour. Low murmurings ran along the lines, and presently broke out into open mutiny. In spite of the order they had received, they began to revolt, and one company was already moving off, in a direction towards home. They had proceeded some distance, before information of their departure was had by Jackson. Irritated at their conduct, in attempting to violate the promises they had given, and knowing that the success of future operations depended on the result; the general pursued, until he came near a part of his staff, and a few soldiers, who, with general Coffee, had halted about a quarter of a mile ahead. He ordered them to form immediately across the road, and to fire on the mutineers, if they attempted to proceed. Snatching

CHAP. up their arms, these faithful adherents presented a front  
III.



which threw the deserters into affright, and caused them to retreat precipitately to the main body. Here, it was hoped, the matter would end, and that no further opposition would be made to returning. This expectation was not realized; a mutinous temper began presently to display itself throughout the whole brigade. Jackson having left his aid-de-camp, major Reid, engaged in making up some despatches, had gone out alone amongst his troops, who were at some little distance; on his arrival, he found a much more extensive mutiny, than that which had just been quelled. Almost the whole brigade had put itself into an attitude for moving forcibly off. A crisis had arrived; and feeling its importance, he determined to take no middle ground, but to triumph or perish. He was still without the use of his left arm; but, seizing a musket, and resting it on the neck of his horse, he threw himself in front of the column, and threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to advance. In this situation he was found by major Reid and general Coffee, who, fearing from the length of his absence, that some disturbance had arisen, hastened where he was, and placing themselves by his side, awaited the result in anxious expectation. For many minutes the column preserved a sullen, yet hesitating attitude, fearing to proceed in their purpose, and disliking to abandon it. In the mean time, those who remained faithful to their duty, amounting to about two companies, were collected and formed at a short distance in advance of the troops, and in rear of the general, with positive directions to imitate his example

Mutiny.

in spring, if they attempted to proceed. At length, CHAP. III.  
 finding no one bold enough to advance, and overtaken by those fears that in the hour of peril always beset persons engaged in what they know to be a bad cause, they abandoned their purpose, and turning quietly round, agreed to return to their posts. It is very certain, that, but for the firmness of the general, at this critical moment, the campaign would for the present have been broken up, and would probably never have been re-commenced.

Shortly after the battle of Talladega, the Hillabee tribes, who had been the principal sufferers on that occasion, applied to general Jackson for peace; declaring their willingness to receive it on such terms as he might be pleased to dictate. His decision had been already returned, stating to them that his government had taken up arms, to bring to a proper sense of duty, a people, to whom she had ever shown the utmost kindness, and who, nevertheless, had committed against her citizens the most unprovoked depredations; and that she would lay them down only when certain that this object was attained.\* “Upon those,” continued he, “who are

Hillabee  
tribes sue  
for peace.

\* This communication did not arrive in time:—general White, who had been detached for that purpose, having, on the morning on which it was written, attacked and destroyed their town, killed sixty, and made two hundred and fifty-six prisoners. The event was unfortunate; and in it may perhaps be found the reason why these savages, in their after battles, fought with the desperation they did, obstinately refusing to ask for quarter. They believed themselves attacked by Jackson’s army; they knew they had asked peace upon his own terms. When, therefore, under these circumstances.

CHAP. disposed to become friendly, I neither wish nor intend  
III. to make war ; but they must afford evidences of the  
sincerity of their professions ; the prisoners and property they have taken from us, and the friendly Creeks, must be restored ; the instigators of the war, and the murderers of our citizens, must be surrendered ; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mimms in bitterness and tears."

Having stated to general Cocke, whose division was acting in this section of the nation, the propositions that had been made by the Hillabee clans, with the answer he had returned ; and urged him to detach to Fort Strother six hundred of his men, to aid in the defence of that place, during his absence, and in the operations he intended to resume on his return ; he proceeded to Deposit and Ditto's landing, where the most effectual means in his power were taken with the contractors, for obtaining regular supplies in future. They were required to furnish, immediately, thirty days' rations at Fort Strother, forty at Talladega, and as many at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa ; two hundred pack horses, and forty wagons, were put in requisition, to facilitate their transportation. Understanding, now, that the whole detachment, from Tennessee, had, by the president, been received into the service of the

they saw themselves thus assailed, they no longer considered that any pacific disposition they might manifest would afford them protection from danger ; and looked upon it as a war of extermination. In their battles, afterwards, there is no instance of their asking for quarter, or even manifesting a disposition to receive it.

United States, he persuaded himself that the difficulties he had heretofore encountered, would not recur, and that the want of supplies would not again be a cause of impeding his operations. He now looked forward with sanguine expectations, to the speedy accomplishment of the objects of the expedition.

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The volunteers, who were at Deposit, began to manifest the same unwillingness to return to their duty, that the militia had done, and were about to break out into the same spirit of mutiny and revolt; but were restrained by an animated address of the general, who, having assembled them together, painted, in the most glowing colours, all the consequences that were to be apprehended, if, from any defalcation of theirs, the campaign should be abandoned, or ineffectually prosecuted. By this mean, he succeeded, once more, in restoring quietness to his troops.

He now set out on his return to Fort Strother, and was delighted to find, by the progress of the works, the industry that had been used in his absence. But the satisfaction he felt, and the hopes he began to cherish, were of short continuance. Although he had succeeded in stilling the tumult of the volunteers, and in prevailing on them to return to their posts, it was soon discovered, he had not eradicated their deep-rooted aversion to a further prosecution of the war. Nothing is more difficult than to re-animate men who have once lost their spirits, or inspire with new ardour, those in whom it has lately become extinct. Even where the evils, which produced the change, are removed, apologies will be sought, and pretexts seized, for justifying and preserving the present tone of mind. The volun-

CHAP. teers, who had so lately clamoured about bread, now,  
 III.

when they were no longer hungry, began to clamour, with equal earnestness, about their term of service. Having lately made an effort to forsake the drudgery of the field, and failed, they were disposed to avail themselves of any pretexts, seemingly plausible, to obtain success. They insisted that the period, for which they had undertaken to act, would end on the 10th of December, that being the termination of a year from the day they had first entered into service; and that although they had been a greater part of the time disengaged, and unemployed, that recess was nevertheless to be taken in the computation. Jackson replied, that the law of congress, under which they had been tendered and accepted, requiring one year's service out of two, could contemplate nothing less than an actual service of three hundred and sixty-five days; and, until that were performed, he could not, unless specially authorized, undertake to discharge them. But as this was a question not likely to be settled by argument, and as the consequences were easily to be foreseen, if they should persist in their demands, the general began to think of providing other means for a continuance of the campaign, that, even in the worst extreme, he might not be unprepared to act. Ordering general Roberts to return, and fill up the deficiencies in his brigade, he now despatched colonel Carroll and major Searcy, one of his aids-de-camp, into Tennessee, to raise volunteers, for six months, or during the campaign; writing, at the same time, to many respectable characters, he exhorted them to contribute all their assistance to the accomplishment of this object. To a

Volun-  
teers claim  
to be dis-  
charged.

Decem. 4



letter, just received from the reverend Gideon Black-  
burn, assuring him that volunteers from Tennessee  
would eagerly hasten to his relief, if they knew their  
services were wanted, he replied, "Reverend Sir,—  
Your letter has been just received : I thank you for it ;  
I thank you most sincerely. It arrived at a moment  
when my spirits needed such a support.

CHAP.  
III.

"I left Tennessee with an army, brave, I believe, as any general ever commanded. I have seen them in battle, and my opinion of their bravery is not changed. But their fortitude—on this too I relied—has been too severely tested. Perhaps I was wrong, in believing that nothing but death could conquer the spirits of brave men. I am sure I was ; for my men, I know, are brave ; yet privations have rendered them discontented :—that is enough. The expedition must nevertheless be prosecuted to a successful termination. New volunteers must be raised, to conclude what has been so auspiciously begun by the old ones. Gladly would I save these men from themselves, and insure them a harvest which they have sown ; but if they will abandon it to others, it must be so.

"You are good enough to say, if I need your assistance, it will be cheerfully afforded : I do need it greatly. The influence you possess over the minds of men is great and well-founded, and can never be better applied, than in summoning volunteers to the defence of their country, their liberty, and their religion. While we fight the savage, who makes war only because he delights in blood, and who has gotten his booty, when he has scalped his victim, we are, through him, contending against an enemy of more inveterate character,

CHAP. and deeper design—who would demolish a fabric ~~ee-~~  
 III. mented by the blood of our fathers, and endeared to us  
 by all the happiness we enjoy. So far as my exertions  
 can contribute, the purposes, both of the savage and  
 his instigator, shall be defeated; and so far as yours  
 can, I hope—I know, they will be employed. I have  
 said enough.—I want men, and want them imme-  
 diately.”

Decem. 6.

Anxious to prosecute the campaign as soon as possible, that by employing his troops actively, he might dispel from their minds those discontents so frequently manifested, he wrote to general Cocke, desiring him to unite with him, immediately, at the Ten Islands, with fifteen hundred men. He assured him that the mounted men, who had returned to the settlements for subsistence, and to recruit their horses, would arrive by the 12th of the month. He wished to commence his operations directly, “knowing they would be prepared for it, and well knowing they would require it.” “I am astonished,” he continued, “to hear that your supplies continue deficient. In the name of God, what is M<sup>c</sup>Gee doing, and what has he been about? Every letter I receive from governor Blount, assures me I am to receive plentiful supplies from him, and seems to take for granted, notwithstanding all I have said to the contrary, that they have been hitherto regularly furnished. Considering the generous loan he obtained for this purpose, and the facility of procuring bread stuffs in East Tennessee, and transporting them by water to Fort Deposit, it is to me wholly unaccountable that not a pound has ever arrived at that place. This evil must continue no longer—it must be reme-

died. I expect, therefore, and through you must require, that M'Gee, in twenty days, furnish at Deposit every necessary supply."\*

CHAP.  
III.

Whilst these measures were taking, the volunteers, through several of their officers, were pressing on the consideration of the general, the subject of their term of service, and claiming to be discharged on the 10th instant. From colonel Martin, who commanded the second regiment, he received a letter, dated the 4th, in which was attempted to be detailed their whole ground of complaint. He began by stating, that, much as it pained him, he felt himself bound to disclose a very unpleasant truth; that, on the 10th, the service would be deprived of the regiment he commanded. He seemed to deplore, with great sensibility, the scene that would be exhibited on that day, should opposition

Discon-  
tents and  
demands  
of the  
troops.

\* Independent of an advantageous contract made with the government, the state of Tennessee had extended to this contractor a liberal loan, that immediate supplies might be forwarded. Unfortunately, however, and it is a misfortune that will always continue, so long as the present mode is persisted in, the contract was disregarded; nor did complaints on the subject cease, even to the close of the war. Great as was the evil, no adequate remedy was at hand: nor was it confined to any particular section; but in all directions, where our armies moved, were complaints heard, and their operations frustrated, through the misconduct of contractors. An advancing army, already having within its reach decided advantages, is made to halt, and to retrograde, or starve. The remedy is to sue the contractor; and, after twelve or eighteen months of law, a jury decides how far he has or has not broken his covenant. In the mean time, the government has lost the most decided advantages—advantages which, had they been secured, might have saved millions of treasure, and thousands of lives.

CHAP. be made to their departure ; and still more sensibly,  
III. the consequences that would result from a disorderly abandonment of the camp. He stated, they had all thought themselves finally discharged, on the 20th of April last, and never knew to the contrary, until they saw the order of the 24th of September, requiring them to rendezvous at Fayetteville, on the 4th of October ; for the first time, they then learned, that they owed further services, their discharge to the contrary notwithstanding. " Thus situated, there was considerable opposition to the order ; on which the officers generally, as I am advised, and I know myself in particular, gave it as an unequivocal opinion, that their term of service would terminate on the 10th of December.

" They therefore look to their general, who holds their confidence, for an honourable discharge on that day ; and that, in every respect, he will see that justice be done them. They regret that their peculiar situations and circumstances require them to leave their general, at a time when their services are important to the common cause.

" It would be desirable," he continued, " that those men, who have served with honour, should be honourably discharged, and that they should return to their families and friends, without even the semblance of disgrace ; with their general they leave it to place them in that situation. They have received him as an affectionate father, whilst they have honoured, revered, and obeyed him ; but, having devoted a considerable portion of their time to the service of their country, by which their domestic concerns are greatly deranged, they wish to return, and attend to their own affairs."

Although this communication announced the deter- CHAP.  
mination of only a part of the volunteer brigade, he III.  
had already abundant evidence that the defection was  
general. The difficulties which the general had hereto-  
fore been compelled to encounter, from the discontents  
of his troops, might well induce him to regret, that a  
spirit of insubordination should again threaten to appear  
in his camp. That he might, if possible, prevent it, he  
hastened to lay before them the error and impropriety  
of their views, and the consequences involved, should  
they persist in their purpose.

"I know not," he observed, "what scenes will be  
exhibited on the 10th instant, nor what consequences  
are to flow from them here or elsewhere; but as I shall  
have the consciousness that they are not imputable  
to any misconduct of mine, I trust I shall have the  
firmness not to shrink from a discharge of my duty." Jackson's  
reply.

"It will be well, however, for those who intend to  
become actors in those scenes, and who are about to  
hazard so much on the correctness of their opinions,  
to examine beforehand, with great caution and delibera-  
tion, the grounds on which their pretensions rest.  
Are they founded on any false assurances of mine, or  
upon any deception that has been practised towards  
them? Was not the act of congress, under which they  
are engaged, directed, by my general order, to be read  
and expounded to them, before they enrolled them-  
selves? That order will testify, and so will the recol-  
lection of every general officer of my division. It is  
not pretended, that those who now claim to be dis-  
charged, were not legally and fairly enrolled, under the  
act of congress, of the 6th of February, 1812. Have

CHAP. they performed the service required of them by that  
III. act, and which they then solemnly undertook to perform? That required one year's service out of two, to be computed from the day of rendezvous, unless they should be sooner discharged. Has one year's service been performed? This cannot be seriously pretended. Have they then been discharged? It is said they have, and by me. To account for so extraordinary a belief, it may be necessary to take a review of past circumstances.

"More than twelve months have elapsed, since we were called upon to avenge the injured rights of our country. We obeyed the call! In the midst of hardships which none but those, to whom liberty is dear, could have borne without a murmur, we descended the Mississippi. It was believed our services were wanted, in the prosecution of the just war in which our country was engaged, and we were prepared to render them. But, though we were disappointed in our expectations, we established for Tennessee a name which will long do her honour. At length, we received a letter from the secretary of war, directing our dismissal. You well recollect the circumstances of wretchedness in which this order was calculated to place us. By it, we were deprived of every article of public property; no provision was made for the payment of our troops, or their subsistence on their return march; whilst many of our sick, unable to help themselves, must have perished. Against the opinion of many, I marched them back to their homes, before I dismissed them. Your regiment, at its own request, was dismissed at Columbia. This was accompanied

with a certificate to each man, expressing the acts under which he had been enrolled, and the length of the tour he had performed. This it is which is now attempted to be construed "a final discharge;" but surely it cannot be forgotten by any officer or soldier, how sacredly they pledged themselves, before they were dismissed, or received that certificate, cheerfully to obey the voice of their country, if it should re-summon them into service: neither can it be forgotten, I dare hope, for what purpose that certificate was given; it was to secure, if possible, to those brave men, who had shown such readiness to serve their country, certain extra emoluments, specified in the seventh section of the act under which they had engaged, in the event they were not recalled into service for the residue of their term.

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"Is it true, then, that my solicitude for the interest of the volunteers, is to be made by them a pretext for disgracing a name which they have rendered illustrious? Is a certificate, designed solely for their benefit, to become the rallying word for mutiny?—strange perversion of feeling and of reasoning! Have I really any power to discharge men, whose term of service has not expired? If I were weak or wicked enough to attempt the exercise of such a power, does any one believe, the soldier would be thereby exonerated from the obligation he has voluntarily taken upon himself to his government? I should become a traitor to the important concern which has been entrusted to my management, while the soldier, who had been deceived by a false hope of liberation, would be still liable to redeem

CHAP. his pledge ;—I should disgrace myself, without benefiting you.  
III.

“ I can only deplore the situation of those officers, who have undertaken to persuade their men, that their term of service will expire on the 10th. In giving their opinions to this effect, they have acted indiscreetly, and without sufficient authority. It would be the most pleasing act of my life, to restore them with honour to their families. Nothing would pain me more than that any other sentiments should be felt towards them, than those of gratitude and esteem. On all occasions, it has been my highest happiness to promote their interest, and even to gratify their wishes, where, with propriety, it could be done. When in the lower country, believing that, in the order for their dismissal, they had been improperly treated, I even solicited the government to discharge them, finally, from the obligations into which they had entered. You know the answer of the secretary of war ;—that neither he nor the president, as he believed, had the power to discharge them. How, then, can it be required of me to do so ?

“ The moment it is signified to me, by any competent authority, even by the governor of Tennessee, to whom I have written on the subject, or by general Pinckney, who is now appointed to the command, that the volunteers may be exonerated from further service, that moment I will pronounce it, with the greatest satisfaction. I have only the power of pronouncing a discharge,—not of giving it, in any case ;—a distinction which I would wish should be borne in mind. Already have I sent to raise volunteers, on my own responsibility, to complete a campaign which has been



so happily begun, and thus far, so fortunately prosecuted. The moment they arrive, and I am assured, that, fired by our exploits, they will hasten in crowds, on the first intimation that we need their services, they will be substituted in the place of those who are discontented here; the latter will then be permitted to return to their homes, with all the honour, which, under such circumstances, they can carry along with them. But I still cherish the hope, that their dissatisfaction and complaints have been greatly exaggerated. I cannot, must not believe, that the "Volunteers of Tennessee," a name ever dear to fame, will disgrace themselves, and a country which they have honoured, by abandoning her standard, as mutineers and deserters; but should I be disappointed, and compelled to resign this pleasing hope, one thing I will not resign—my duty. Mutiny and sedition, so long as I possess the power of quelling them, shall be put down; and even when left destitute of this, I will still be found, in the last extremity, endeavouring to discharge the duty I owe my country and myself."

CHAP.  
III.

To the platoon officers, who addressed him on the same subject, he replied in nearly the same manner; but discontent had taken too deep a hold, and had, by designing men, been too artfully fomented, to be removed by any thing like argument or intreaty. At length, on the evening of the 9th, general Hall hastened to the tent of Jackson, with information that his whole brigade was in a state of mutiny, and making preparations for moving forcibly off. This was a measure which every consideration of policy, duty, and honour, required Jackson to oppose; and to this purpose, he

Mutiny.

CHAP. instantly applied all the means he possessed. He im-  
III. mediately issued the following general order :

“ The commanding general being informed that an actual mutiny exists in his camp, all officers and soldiers are commanded to put it down.

“ The officers and soldiers of the first brigade will, without delay, parade on the west side of the fort, and await further orders.” The artillery company, with two small field pieces, being posted in the front and rear ; and the militia, under the command of colonel Wynne, on the eminences, in advance, were ordered to prevent any forcible departure of the volunteers.

The general rode along the line, which had been formed agreeably to his orders, and addressed them by companies, in a strain of impassioned eloquence. He feelingly expatiated on their former good conduct, and the esteem and applause it had secured them ; and pointed to the disgrace which they must heap upon themselves, their families, and country, by persisting, even if they could succeed, in their present mutiny. But he told them they should not succeed, but by passing over his body ; that even in opposing their mutinous spirit, he should perish honourably,—by perishing at his post, and in the discharge of his duty. “ Reinforcements,” he continued, “ are preparing to hasten to my assistance : it cannot be long before they will arrive. I am, too, in daily expectation of receiving information, whether you may be discharged, or not—until then, you must not, and shall not retire. I have done with intreaty,—it has been used long enough.—I will attempt it no more. You must now determine whether you will go, or peaceably remain : if you still persist

in your determination to move forcibly off, the point between us shall soon be decided." At first they hesitated;—he demanded an explicit and positive answer. They still hesitated; and he commanded the artillerist to prepare the match; he himself remaining in front of the volunteers, and within the line of fire, which he intended soon to order. Alarmed at his apparent determination, and dreading the consequences involved in such a contest; "Let us return," was presently lisped along the line, and was soon after determined upon. The officers now came forward, and pledged themselves for their men, who either nodded assent, or openly expressed a willingness to retire to their quarters, and remain without further tumult, until information were had, or the expected aid should arrive. Thus passed away a moment of the greatest peril,—pregnant with the most important consequences.

CHAP.  
III.

Although the immediate execution of their purpose was thus prevented, it was soon discovered that it was not wholly abandoned, and that nothing could be expected from their future services. Jackson, therefore, determined to rid himself, as soon as possible, of men, whose presence answered no other end, than to keep alive discontents in his camp. He accordingly prepared an order to general Hall, to march them to Nashville, and do with them as he should be directed by the governor of Tennessee. Previous to promulgating this, he resolved to make one further effort to retain them, and to make a last appeal to their honour and patriotism. For this purpose, having assembled them before the fort, on the 13th, he directed his aid-de-camp to read to them the following address :

CHAP.  
III.

Address  
to his  
troops.

“ On the 10th of December, 1812, you assembled, at the call of your country. Your professions of patriotism, and ability to endure fatigue, were at once tested by the inclemency of the weather. Breaking your way through sheets of ice, you descended the Mississippi, and reached the point at which you were ordered to be halted and dismissed. All this you bore without murmuring. Finding that your services were not needed, the means for marching you back were procured; every difficulty was surmounted, and, as soon as the point from which you embarked was regained, the order for your dismissal was carried into effect. The promptness with which you assembled, the regularity of your conduct, your attention to your duties, the determination manifested, on every occasion, to carry into effect the wishes and will of your government, placed you on elevated ground. You not only distinguished yourselves, but gave to your state a distinguished rank with her sisters; and led your government to believe, that the honour of the nation would never be tarnished, when entrusted to the holy keeping of the “Volunteers of Tennessee.”

“ In the progress of a war, which the implacable and eternal enemy of our independence induced to be waged, we found that, without cause on our part, a portion of the Creek nation was added to the number of our foes. To put it down, the first glance of the administration fell on you; and you were again summoned to the field of honour. In full possession of your former feelings, that summons was cheerfully obeyed. Before your enemy thought you in motion, you were at Tallushatchee and Talladega. The thunder of your arms was

a signal to them, that the slaughter of your country-  
men was about to be avenged. You fought, you con-  
quered ! barely enough of the foe escaped, to recount  
to their savage associates, your deeds of valour. You  
returned to this place, loaded with laurels, and the ap-  
plauses of your country.

CHAP.  
III.

“ Can it be, that these brave men are about to become the tarnishers of their own reputation !—the destroyers of a name, which does them so much honour ? Yes, it is a truth too well disclosed, that cheerfulness has been exchanged for complaints :—murmurings and discontents alone prevail. Men who a little while since were offering up prayers, for permission to chastise the merciless savage,—who burned with impatience to teach them how much they had hitherto been indebted to our forbearance ; are now, when they could so easily attain their wishes, seeking to be discharged. The heart of your general has been pierced. The first object of his military affections, and the first glory of his life, were the volunteers of Tennessee ! The very name recalls to him a thousand endearing recollections. But these men,—these volunteers, have become mutineers. The feelings he would have indulged, your general has been compelled to suppress,—he has been compelled by a regard to that subordination, so necessary to the support of every army, and which he is bound to have observed, to check the disorder which would have destroyed you. He has interposed his authority for your safety ;—to prevent you from disgracing yourselves and your country. Tranquillity has been restored in our camp,—contentment shall also be restored ; this can be done only by permitting those to

CHAP. retire, whose dissatisfaction proceeds from causes that  
III.

cannot be controlled. This permission will now be given. Your country will dispense with your services, if you have no longer a regard for that fame, which you have so nobly earned for yourselves and her. Yes, soldiers, you who were once so brave, and to whom honour was so dear, shall be permitted to return to your homes, if you still desire it. But in what language, when you arrive, will you address your families and friends? Will you tell them that you abandoned your general, and your late associates in arms, within fifty miles of a savage enemy; who equally delights in shedding the blood of the innocent female and her sleeping babe, as that of the warrior contending in battle? Lamentable, disgraceful tale! If your dispositions are really changed; if you fear an enemy you so lately conquered; this day will prove it. I now put it to yourselves;—determine upon the part you will act, influenced only by the suggestions of your own hearts, and your own understandings. All who prefer an inglorious retirement, shall be ordered to Nashville, to be discharged, as the president or the governor may direct. Who choose to remain, and unite with their general, in the further prosecution of the campaign, can do so, and will thereby furnish a proof, that they have been greatly traduced; and that although disaffection and cowardice has reached the hearts of some, it has not reached theirs. To such my assurance is given, that former irregularities will not be attributed to them. They shall be immediately organized into a separate corps, under officers of their own choice; and in a little while, it is confidently believed,

an opportunity will be afforded of adding to the laurels  
you have already won."

CHAP.  
III.

This appeal failed of the desired effect. Captain Williamson alone agreed to remain. Finding that their determination to abandon the service could not be changed, and that every principle of patriotism was forgotten, the general communicated his order to general Hall, directing him to march his brigade to Nashville, and await such instructions as he might receive from the president, or the governor of Tennessee.

General Cocke had arrived on the 12th, with fifteen hundred men; but it was found from his report, that no part of his troops were brought into the field under the requisition of the president of the United States; and that the term of service of a greater part of them would expire in a few days; and of the whole in a few weeks. In consequence of this, he was ordered into his district, to comply with that requisition, and to carry with him and discharge near their homes, those of his troops, the period of whose service was within a short time of being ended. The reason of this was explained in an address to the brigade, in which they were entreated, when they should have obtained the necessaries which a winter's campaign would require, to return into the field, and aid in completing what had been so successfully begun. Colonel Lilliard's regiment, which consisted of about eight hundred, and whose term of service would not expire in less than four weeks, was retained, to assist in defending the present post, and in keeping open the communication

Arrival of  
general  
Cocke.


CHAP. with Deposit, until the expected reinforcements should  
 III. arrive.

Meantime the cavalry and mounted riflemen, who, under an express stipulation to return and complete the campaign, had been permitted to retire into the settlements, to recruit their horses and procure winter clothing, had, at the time appointed, re-assembled in the neighbourhood of Huntsville. But, catching the infection of discontent from the infantry, on their return march, they began now to clamour with equal earnestness for a discharge. The cavalry insisted that they were as well entitled to it as the infantry ; and the riflemen, that they could not be held in service after the 24th, that being three months from the time they had been mustered : and that as that day was so near at hand, it was wholly useless to advance any farther.

Disaffec-  
 tion of ge-  
 neral Coffee's  
 brigade,  
 which de-  
 mands to  
 be dis-  
 charged.

General Coffee, who was confined at Huntsville by severe indisposition, employed all the means which his debilitated strength would allow him, to remove the dangerous impressions they had so readily imbibed, and to reclaim them to a sense of honour and of duty ; but all his efforts proved unavailing. He immediately ordered his brigade to head quarters : they had proceeded as far as Ditto's ferry, when the greater part of them refusing to cross the river, returned in a tumultuous manner, committing on the route innumerable irregularities, which there was no force sufficient to restrain. Not more than seven hundred of the brigade could be gotten over ; who, having marched to Deposit, were directed to be halted, until further orders could be obtained from general Jackson. At this place they committed the wildest extravagancies ; profusely wast-



ing the public grain, which, with much difficulty and labour, had been collected there, for the purpose of the campaign; and indulging in every species of excess. CHAP. III.  Whilst thus rioting, they continued to clamour, vociferously, for their discharge. General Coffee finding his utmost efforts ineffectual, to restrain or to quiet them, wrote to Jackson, acquainting him with their conduct and demands, and enclosing a petition that had been addressed to him by the rifle regiment. In his letter he says, "I am of opinion, the sooner they can be gotten clear of the better; they are consuming the forage that will be necessary for others, and I am satisfied they will do no more good. I have told them, their petition would be submitted to you, who would decide upon it in the shortest possible time." This was truly disagreeable news to the general. Already sufficiently harassed by the discontents and opposition of his troops; now that they had retired, he looked anxiously forward, in hopes that the tranquillity of his camp would be no more assailed. On the brigade of Coffee, he had placed great reliance, and, from the pledges it had given him, entertained no fears but that it would return and act with him, as soon as he should be ready to proceed. He replied to general Coffee, and taking a view of the grounds and causes of their complaints, endeavoured to reconcile their objections, and persuade them to a discharge of the duties they had undertaken, and covenanted to perform.

The signers of that address, observes the general, commence by saying, "that jealousy is prevailing in our camp, with respect to the understanding between themselves and the government, relative to the service

CHAP. required of them ; and believing it to be its policy to  
 III. act fairly, are of opinion that a full explanation of their  
 case will have a good effect, in promoting the cause in  
 which they are engaged."

Jackson's  
 reply to  
 the de-  
 mands of  
 Coffee's  
 brigade. " What can have given rise to this jealousy, I am  
 at a loss to conjecture ; for surely no unfair practices  
 were ever used by their government, to get them into  
 the service, nor to keep them in it, longer than they  
 had engaged to remain. How long that was, can  
 be easily determined by the law, under which they  
 were accepted. This was open to all, and must be  
 presumed to have been understood by all. But for a  
 complete answer, I send you and refer you to the writ-  
 ten pledges, of both the field and platoon officers, be-  
 fore they returned to recruit their horses, and obtain  
 their winter clothing. As they seem completely to  
 have forgotten, remind them of all they contain,—  
 of their assurances given, that, if what they asked  
 were granted, they would return, at the shortest possi-  
 ble notice, prepared and willing to go through the  
 winter service, or to the end of the campaign. Sensi-  
 ble of their necessities, and confiding fully in the  
 promises they made, and signed with their own names,  
 I permitted them, on the 22d ultimo, to return into the  
 settlements, for the purpose of procuring fresh horses,  
 and additional clothing ; and required them, to which  
 they readily agreed, to rendezvous in Madison, on the  
 8th instant. They have returned, and now, when  
 every calculation is made upon their services, agree-  
 ably to the pledges that have been given, they send,  
 (instead of coming,) this address. Under these circum-  
 stances, what " explanation of their case " do they

want? What explanation do they expect their general to give them? Barely to remind them of their written pledges, without attempting any exposition of the law, under which they have engaged, is surely a sufficient answer. An exposition of it will not be attempted by me; not only because it is considered unnecessary, but because my opinion on it has been already frequently given.

CHAP.  
III.

“They, however, further remark, that “they are returning like deserters, souring the minds of the people against the government and the officers, which will prevent others from entering into the service of their country, and paralyze the spirit of every citizen of Tennessee.” That they are returning home, not only “like deserters,” but in the real genuine character of such, is indeed a lamentable truth. That they are also endeavouring to sour the minds of the people against the government and the officers, and that this attempt will most probably be successful, and prevent many from entering the service, is, I am fearful, too true. But in the name of God, to whom is this to be ascribed—to the government, or to their general? or rather is it not more justly chargeable to themselves, who, having entered the camp from patriotic motives, as they say,—having engaged with their government, and pledged themselves to their general, to prosecute the campaign, and avenge the injured rights of their country, forget both that engagement, and that pledge, and all their boasted patriotism, at a moment when their services are the most confidently expected, and the most eminently needed.

CHAP.

III.

“I cannot conceive how the idea has arisen, that they are attempted to be detained, without their consent. To say nothing of the length of service really required by the law under which they were accepted; have not the field officers given their written consent to remain, during the winter, or until the campaign be completed? Have they not also given a pledge for their men, and their officers commanding companies and platoons; and have not those company and platoon officers, too, given a similar assurance for themselves and their men? Let them look to these pledges, and blush at their conduct.

“They also remark, “If any tender of services, for a longer time than a tour of duty, (three months) has been made to the general government, we beg leave to say, it was without our consent or knowledge; and we are convinced that, in all contracts that are binding, both parties must fully understand and consent thereto. We wish to be permitted to return home, and to return under such circumstances, as will entitle us to be praised, instead of blamed, by those who so gallantly led us to battle.”


“To this I answer, that no tender, for any specified term of service, was ever made to the general government, by me, or by any other, within my knowledge. As regards their *law remark*, that men, to be bound by a contract, must understand and consent to it, it will be a sufficient answer, that those who volunteer their services, under a public law, are presumed to understand fully all its provisions; or, at any rate, that those who sign an instrument drawn up by themselves, cannot reasonably be supposed ignorant of its contents,

or unwilling to abide by its terms. But they must be  
luke-warm patriots indeed, who, in the moment of  
danger and necessity, can halt in the discharge of their  
duty, to argue and quibble on the construction of laws  
and statutes.

CHAP.  
III.

“As to their wish “to be praised instead of censured,” I am at a loss to conceive how such a sentiment should hold a place in the breasts of men, who are about to abandon the cause of their country, at such a moment as this, and under such engagements. Even if it be possible for such men to desire praise; from their present conduct they cannot expect it, nor believe themselves entitled to receive it. Before they can have determined to enter upon such a course, they must undoubtedly have prepared their minds to meet all the contumely and contempt, that an indignant country can heap upon such wind-blown patriots; who, when at home, clamoured so vociferously about her injured rights, and having taken up arms to defend them, abandon them, at a moment when they are most in danger. A grosser aliment than praise must be the proper nutriment for such minds. If it were possible that any doubt could exist, under the law by which their services were engaged, has not the utmost certainty been produced, by their own written undertakings, subsequently made? But on the question, whether their country, at this time, needs their services in the field, there can be no doubt. And is patriotism to be measured by months, and weeks, and days? Is it by such a computation, that the volunteer, embarked in his country’s defence, hopes to entitle himself to the thanks of that country, when her rights are assailed,

CHAP. and his efforts can protect them?—Be it so ; let it be

III.  even granted, that these men's engagements have expired under the law ;—has their sacred pledge, in writing, and has their love of country expired ? If these cannot bind them to a faithful performance of their duty, I know of nothing by which I can hope to hold them."

To have addressed them in a less pointed and independent strain, and endeavoured to soothe their discontents by intreaty, might, at some other time, and under different circumstances, have been better resorted to for success ; but the ineffectual attempts that had been made with his infantry, who had forsaken the camp, in spite of every thing that persuasion, threats, or honour could suggest, left but a narrow basis, on which to erect a hope of his being able to detain them. There was but a single course left ; to point them to the pledge they had given, and appeal directly to their honour, believing that if this were unsuccessful, there was " nothing by which he could hope to hold them."

Orders of  
governor  
Blount,  
respecting  
the volun-  
teers.

Jackson had just received a letter from the governor of Tennessee, in answer to his frequent and pressing inquiries, as to the disposition which should be made of the volunteers. It recommended what had already, from necessity, been done ; to dismiss—not discharge them, because the latter was not in the power of either of them :—nor was their dismissal to be given, because founded in right ; but because, under existing circumstances, their presence could not prove beneficial, but highly injurious. To induce them contentedly to remain, the governor had suggested but one argument, which had not already been unsuccessfully attempted ;

“that it was very doubtful if the government would pay them for the services they had already rendered, if abandoned without her authority.” It is true, that avarice sometimes alters a determination, when other considerations have failed of success ; whether this appeal might not result beneficially with the cavalry, whose presence was greatly desired, was at least worth the trial. It was important, however, to bring it before them in a way to awaken inquiry, and guard against offence. The letter was therefore enclosed for their inspection, accompanied with these remarks :—

“I have just received a letter from governor Blount, which I hasten to transmit to you, that you may avail yourselves of whatever benefits and privileges it holds out. You will perceive, that he does not consider he has any power to discharge you,—neither have I :—but you have my permission to retire from the service, if you are still desirous of doing so, and are prepared to risk the consequences.”

These letters, so far from answering the desired end, had a directly contrary effect. The governor’s was no sooner read, than they eagerly laid hold of it to support the resolution they had already formed ; and without further ceremony or delay, abandoned the campaign, with their colonel, Allcorn, at their head, who, so far from having endeavoured to reconcile them, is believed, by secret artifices, to have fomented their discontents.

So general was the dissatisfaction of this brigade, and with such longing anxiety did they indulge the hope of a speedy return to their homes, that their impatience did not permit them to wait the return of the

CHAP. messenger from head quarters. Before an answer  
III. could reach general Coffee, they had broken up their  
encampment at Deposit, re-crossed the river, and proceeded four miles beyond Huntsville. On receiving it, Coffee had the brigade drawn up in solid column, and the letters, together with the pledge they had given, read to them ; after which, the reverend Mr. Blackburn endeavoured, in an eloquent speech, in which he pointed out the ruinous consequences that were to be apprehended, if they persisted in their present purpose, to recall them to a sense of duty, and of honour ; but they had formed their resolution too steadfastly, and had gone too extravagant lengths, to be influenced by the letter, the pledge, or the speech. As to the pledge, a few said they had not authorized it to be made ; others, that as the general had not returned an immediate acceptance, they did not consider themselves bound by it ; but the greater part candidly acknowledged, that they stood committed, and were without any justification for their present conduct. Nevertheless, except a few officers, and three or four privates, the whole persisted in the determination to abandon the service. Thus, in a tumultuous manner, they broke up, and, committing innumerable extravagancies, regardless alike of law and decency, continued their route to their respective homes.



*Reserve Commanded by  
Colonel Dyre*



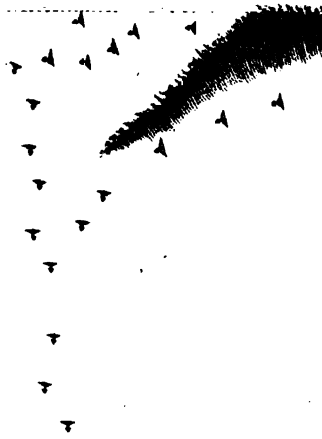
2nd

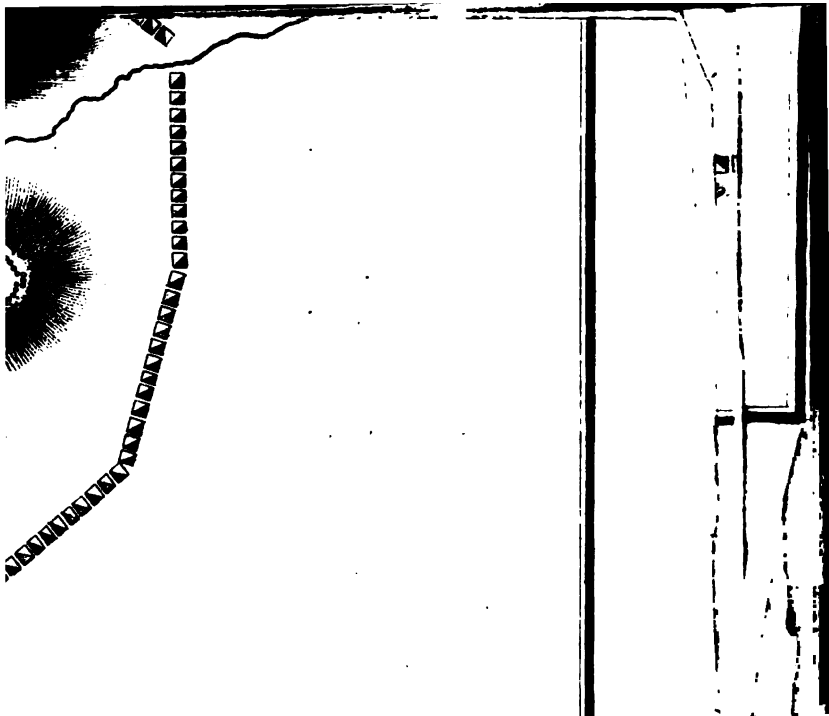
1st Regt. Artillery

2nd Regt. Infantry

1st Regt. Infantry

*Advance Commanded by  
General Carroll*





# Sketch of the BATTLE OF TALLEDEGA.

## EXPLANATIONS.

- the friendly Creek. American Riflemen.
- ment of the hostile D. D. Cavalry & mounted Gun men.
- American Infantry. Indians.

20 30 40 50 100 120 Yards

## CHAPTER IV.

Discontents of the militia.—Governor Blount recommends an abandonment of the service.—Jackson's reply to his letter.—The governor takes measures for bringing out a sufficient force.—Conduct of general Roberts.—His brigade retires from service.—Lieutenant Kearley.—General Jackson endeavours to detain the East Tennessee troops.—His address to them.—Arrival of additional forces.—Arrest of officers.—Expedition against the Indians.—His motives.—Battle of Emuckfaw.—General Coffee proceeds to destroy the enemy's fortifications.—Second battle of Emuckfaw.—Troops commence their return march.—Ambuscade formed by the Indians.—Battle of Enotichopco.

WHILST these unfortunate events were transpir- CHAP.  
ing in the rear, matters were far from wearing a very IV.  
encouraging aspect at head quarters. General Ro-  
berts' brigade of West Tennessee militia, at no time 1813.  
full, and at present consisting, in consequence of numerous desertions, of only about six hundred; imitating the evil examples lately set before it, began, as the day on which they imagined themselves entitled to a discharge was approaching, to turn their attention towards home. Believing that three months constituted the tour of duty contemplated in the act, under which their services were engaged, they insisted that it would terminate on the 4th of the ensuing month. This, however, was a construction, that Jackson was by no means disposed to admit. It is true, the act

CHAP. had not defined the term of their engagements ; but it  
IV. had specified the object of calling them out, viz. to  
1813, subdue the Indians ; and as that object was not yet attained, it was believed, that at present they were not entitled to a discharge. In addition to this, these troops, although raised by the state authority, had been, by the particular recommendation of their own legislature, received into the service of the general government, under the act of congress, authorizing the president to call out a hundred thousand militia, to serve for six months ; unless by his own order they should be previously dismissed. So that, whether the act of congress, or the legislature of Tennessee, were taken as the rule of government in this case, it was believed there was no authority competent to extend to them a discharge, at the time they threatened to demand it. The militia of East Tennessee, having been specially mustered into service for three months, would, of course, be entitled to be dismissed, at the expiration of that period ; hence colonel Lilliard's regiment, which constituted more than one half the present force at head quarters, would be lost to the service on the 14th of the next month.

With the failure of general Cocke, to bring into the field, the number and description of troops, which he had been ordered to raise, under the requisition of the president ; as well as with the temper and demands of those who were in service, he kept the governor of Tennessee correctly advised ; and omitted no opportunity of entreating him, in the most pressing manner, to take the earliest measures for supplying, by draft, or voluntary enlistment, the present deficiency, as well

as that which was so soon to be expected. To these solicitations, he had now received the governor's answer, who stated, that, having ordered general Cocke to bring into the field fifteen hundred of the detached militia, as was required by the secretary of war, and a thousand volunteers, under the act of the legislature of Tennessee, of the 24th September, he did not feel himself authorized to grant a new order, although the first had not been complied with; that he viewed the further prosecution of the campaign, attended as it was with so many embarrassments, as a fruitless endeavour; and concluded by recommending, as advisable, to withdraw the troops into the settlements, and suspend all active operations, until the general government should provide more effectual means, for conducting it to a favourable issue. Jackson, far from having any intention to yield to this advice, was determined to oppose it. Still, however, he was greatly concerned at the view the chief magistrate of his state seemed to take of a question so important; and immediately proceeded to unfold himself fully, and to suggest the course, which, he believed, on the present occasion, it behoved them both to pursue; pointing out the ruinous consequences, that might be expected to result, from the adoption of the measure he had undertaken to recommend;—he continues;

CHAP.  
IV.

1813.

Governor  
advises  
an abandon-  
ment  
of the  
campaign

“Had your wish, that I should discharge a part of my force, and retire, with the residue, into the settlements, assumed the form of a positive order, it might have furnished me some apology for pursuing such a course; but by no means a full justification. As you would have no power to give such an order, I could

Letter to  
governor  
Blount.

CHAP. not be inculpable in obeying, with my eyes open  
IV. to the fatal consequences that would attend it. But a

1813.

bare recommendation, founded, as I am satisfied it must be, on the artful suggestions of those fire-side patriots, who seek, in a failure of the expedition, an excuse for their own supineness; and upon the misrepresentations of the discontented from the army, who wish it to be believed, that the difficulties which overcame their patriotism are wholly insurmountable, would afford me but a feeble shield, against the reproaches of my country, or my conscience. Believe me, my respected friend, the remarks I make proceed from the purest personal regard. If you would preserve your reputation, or that of the state over which you preside, you must take a straight-forward, determined course; regardless of the applause or censure of the populace, and of the forebodings of that dastardly and designing crew, who, at a time like this, may be expected to clamour continually in your ears. The very wretches who now beset you with evil counsel, will be the first, should the measures which they recommend eventuate in disaster, to call down imprecations on your head, and load you with reproaches. Your country is in danger:—apply its resources to its defence! Can any course be more plain? Do you, my friend, at such a moment as the present, sit with your arms folded, and your heart at ease, waiting a solution of your doubts, and a definition of your powers? Do you wait for special instructions from the secretary at war, which it is impossible for you to receive in time for the danger that threatens? How did the venerable Shelby act, under similar circumstances; or rather, under circum-

stances by no means so critical? Did he wait for orders, to do what every man of sense knew—what every patriot felt—to be right? He did not; and yet how highly and justly did the government extol his manly and energetic conduct! and how dear has his name become to all the friends of their country!

CHAP.  
IV.

1813.

“You say, that, having given an order to general Cocke, to bring his quota of men into the field, your power ceases; and that, although you are made sensible that he has wholly neglected that order, you can take no measure to remedy the omission. Widely different, indeed, is my opinion. I consider it your imperious duty, when the men, called for by your order, founded upon that of the government, are known not to be in the field, to see that they be brought there; and to take immediate measures with the officer, who, charged with the execution of your order, omits or neglects to do it. As the executive of the state, it is your duty to see that the full quota of troops be constantly kept in the field, for the time they have been required. You are responsible to the government; your officer to you. Of what avail is it, to give an order, if it be never executed, and may be disobeyed with impunity? Is it by empty orders, that we can hope to conquer our enemies, and save our defenceless frontiers from butchery and devastation? Believe me, my valued friend, there are times, when it is highly criminal to shrink from responsibility, or scruple about the exercise of our powers. There are times, when we must disregard punctilious etiquette, and think only of serving our country. What is really our present situation? The enemy we have been sent to

CHAP. subdue, may be said, if we stop at this, to be only ex-  
asperated. The commander in chief, general Pinck-

IV.

1813.

ney, who supposes me, by this time, prepared for renewed operations, has ordered me to advance, and form a junction with the Georgia army ; and, upon the expectation that I will do so, are all his arrangements formed, for the prosecution of the campaign. Will it do, to defeat his plans, and jeopardize the safety of the Georgia army ? The general government, too, believe, and have a right to believe, that we have now not less than five thousand men in the heart of the enemy's country ; and on this opinion are all their calculations bottomed ; and must they all be frustrated, and I become the instrument by which it is done ? God forbid !

“ You advise me, too, to discharge, or dismiss from service, until the will of the president can be known, such portion of the militia, as have rendered three months' service. This advice astonishes me, even more than the former. I have no such discretionary power ; and it would be impolitic and ruinous to exercise it, if I had. I believed, the militia who were not specially received for a shorter period, were engaged for six months, unless the objects of the expedition should be sooner attained ; and in this opinion I was greatly strengthened, by your letter of the 15th, in which you say, when answering my inquiry upon this subject, “ the militia are detached for six months' service ; ” nor did I know, or suppose, you had a different opinion, until the arrival of your last letter. This opinion must, I suppose, agreeably to your request, be made known to general Roberts' brigade, and then the consequences are not difficult to be foreseen.



Every man belonging to it will abandon me on the 4th of next month; nor shall I have the means of preventing it, but by the application of force, which, under such circumstances, I shall not be at liberty to use. I have laboured hard, to reconcile these men, to a continuance in service, until they could be honourably discharged, and had hoped I had, in a great measure, succeeded; but your opinion, operating with their own prejudices, will give a sanction to their conduct, and render useless any further attempts. They will go; but I can neither discharge nor dismiss them. Shall I be told, that, as they will go, it may as well be peaceably permitted; can that be any good reason why I should do an unauthorized act? Is it a good reason why I should violate the order of my superior officer, and evince a willingness to defeat the purposes of my government? And wherein does the "sound policy" of the measures that have been recommended consist? or in what way are they "likely to promote the public good?" Is it sound policy to abandon a conquest thus far made, and deliver up to havoc, or add to the number of our enemies, those friendly Creeks and Cherokees, who, relying on our protection, have espoused our cause, and aided us with their arms? Is it good policy to turn loose upon our defenceless frontiers, five thousand exasperated savages, to reek their hands once more in the blood of our citizens? What! retrograde under such circumstances! I will perish first. No, I will do my duty: I will hold the posts I have established, until ordered to abandon them by the commanding general, or die in the struggle;—long

CHAP.  
IV.  
1813.

CHAP. since have I determined, not to seek the preservation  
IV. of life, at the sacrifice of reputation.

1813.

"But our frontiers, it seems, are to be defended, and by whom? By the very force that is now recommended to be dismissed; for I am first told to retire into the settlements, and protect the frontiers; next, to discharge my troops; and then, that no measures can be taken for raising others. No, my friend, if troops be given me, it is not by loitering on the frontiers that I will seek to give protection;—they are to be defended, if defended at all, in a very different manner;—by carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country. All other hopes of defence are more visionary than dreams. What then is to be done? I'll tell you what. You have only to act with the energy and decision the crisis demands, and all will be well. Send me a force engaged for six months, and I will answer for the result,—but withhold it, and all is lost,—the reputation of the state, and your's, and mine along with it."

This letter had considerable effect with the governor. On receiving it, he immediately ordered from the second division, twenty-five hundred of the militia, for a tour of three months, to rendezvous at Fayetteville, on the 28th of January. The command was given to brigadier general Johnston, with orders to proceed without delay, by detachments, or otherwise, to Fort Strother. He instructed general Cocke to execute the order he had received from Jackson, for raising from his division, his required quota of troops, and to bring them to the field as early as possible.

These measures were taken by the governor in opposition to his first views of their impropriety ;—without any special directions from the government. If any doubts, however, remained of the correctness of the course adopted, they were soon after dispelled, by a letter from the secretary of war, stating, that he was “authorized to supply, by militia drafts or volunteers, any deficiency that might arise, and without referring on that head to the war department.”

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General Roberts, who had been ordered back to supply the deficiencies in his brigade, returned on the 27th, with one hundred and ninety-one men, mustered for three months. Having halted them a few miles in rear of the camp, he proceeded thither himself, to learn of the commanding general, whether the troops he had brought on would be received for the term they had stipulated ; as they were unwilling to advance further, until this point were settled. Jackson answered, that although he greatly preferred they should be engaged for six months, or during the campaign, yet he had no wish to alter any engagement they had made with general Roberts, and would gladly receive them for the period they had been mustered ; at the expiration of which time he would discharge them. Notwithstanding this assurance, with which he was instructed to make them acquainted, they yet determined, for some unknown cause, to abandon their engagements, and return home, without gaining even a sight of the camp. To the misconduct and improper conversation of their general, was it justly to be attributed. By halting them in the neighbourhood, until he could go to head quarters, and “make terms” for their ac-

General  
Roberts'  
intrigues.

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ceptance, he impressed them with the belief, that their obligations as yet extended only to himself; from which he promised to absolve them, if the terms he should be able to make, should be less favourable than they expected. And even after general Jackson had assented to all that was or could be asked in their behalf, and that assent had been reduced to writing, Roberts, either from not understanding what was done, or from a desire to injure the service, hastened back to his men,—informed them that he had been unable to effect an accomplishment of their object—seriously lamented having induced them from their homes, and concluded by gravely remarking, that he freely exonerated them from all the obligations they were under to him. They, just as gravely, concluded they would go no further; and, turning about, commenced their return home. The affair, however, was soon presented very differently to his mind. The careless indifference with which he had first treated it had subsided; and his fears took the alarm, on receiving from general Jackson, an order to parade immediately before the fort, the men he had reported to have brought into the field. He came forward, now, to excuse what had happened, and to solicit permission to go in pursuit of the refugees, whom he thought he should be able to bring back. Overtaking them, at the distance of twenty miles, he endeavoured, in a very gentle manner, to soothe their discontents, and prevail on them to return; but having been discharged, and absolved fully from the engagements they had at first entered into, they laughed at the folly of his errand. Unable to effect his object, he remained with them during the night; and, having

passed it with great jollity, set out in the morning for camp, and his new recruits for home. On arriving at head quarters, he ascribed his failure to the practices of certain officers, whom he named, and who, he said, had stirred up a spirit of mutiny and desertion among the men, to such a degree, that all his efforts to reclaim them had proved unavailing. Jackson, who could not view this incident with the same indifference that Roberts had done, immediately issued an order, directing him to proceed, forthwith, in pursuit of the deserters, and have them apprehended, and brought back. In the execution of this order, he was commanded to call to his aid any troops in the United States' service, within the county of Madison, or in the state of Tennessee, and to exert all his power and authority, as a military officer, within his own brigade; and in the event he should not be able to collect a sufficient force to march them safely to head quarters, to confine them in gaols, and make report thereof, without delay. This order was accompanied with an assurance, that all who should return willingly to their duty, except those officers who had been reported as the instigators, would be pardoned. Many of the men, and several of the officers, who had been charged as encouraging the revolt, learning the nature of the proceedings that were about to be enforced against them, returned, of their own accord, to camp; and concurred in ascribing their late misconduct entirely to their general. He was afterwards arrested, and upon this and other charges exhibited against him, sentenced, by a court martial, to be cashiered.

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CHAP. The day had arrived, when that portion of Roberts'

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Lieutenant  
Kearley.

brigade, which had continued in service, claimed to be discharged; and insisted, that whether this were given to them or not, they would abandon the campaign, and return home. Jackson believed them not entitled to it, and hence, that he had no right to give it; but as governor Blount had said differently, and his opinion, as he had required, had been promulgated, he felt it was improper that he should attempt the exercise of force to detain them. Nevertheless, believing it to be his duty to keep them, he issued a general order, commanding all persons, in the service of the United States, under his command, not to leave the encampment, without his written permission, under the penalties annexed, by the rules and articles of war, to the crime of desertion. This was accompanied by an address, in which they were exhorted, by all those motives which he supposed would be most likely to have any influence, to remain at their posts, until they could be legally discharged. Neither the order nor the address availed any thing. On the morning of the 4th of January, the officer of the day, major Bradley, reported, that, on visiting his guard, half after ten o'clock, he found neither the officer, lieutenant Kearley, nor any of the sentinels at their posts. Upon this information, general Jackson ordered the arrest of Keatley, who refused to surrender his sword, alleging it should protect him to Tennessee; that he was a freeman, and not subject to the orders of general Jackson, or any body else. This being made known to the general, he issued, immediately, this order to the adjutant general: "You will forthwith cause the guards

to parade, with captain Gordon's company of spies, and arrest lieutenant Kearley ; and, in case you shall be opposed, in the execution of this order, you are commanded to oppose force to force, and arrest him, at all hazards. Spare the effusion of blood, if possible ; but mutiny must, and shall be put down." Colonel Sitler, with the guards and Gordon's company, immediately proceeded in search, and found him at the head of his company, on the lines, which were all formed, and about to march off. He was ordered to halt, but refused. The adjutant general, finding it necessary, directed the guards to stop him ; and again demanded his sword, which he again refused to deliver. The guards were commanded to fire on him, if he did not immediately deliver it, and had already cocked their guns. At this order, the lieutenant cocked his, and his men followed his example. General Jackson, informed of what was passing, had hastened to the scene, and arriving at this moment, personally demanded of Kearley his sword, which he still obstinately refused to deliver. Incensed at the outrage, and viewing the example as too dangerous to pass, he snatched a pistol from his holster, and was already levelling it at the breast of Kearley, when colonel Sitler, interposing between them, urged him to surrender his sword. At this moment, Dr. Taylor, the friend of the lieutenant, drew it from the scabbard, and handed it to the adjutant general, who refused to receive it. It was then returned to Kearley, who now delivered it, and was placed under guard. During this crisis, both parties remained with their arms ready, and prepared for firing ; and a scene of bloodshed was narrowly escaped.

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Kearley being confined, and placed under guard, soon became exceedingly penitent, and earnestly supplicated the general for a pardon. He stated, that the absence of the guards and sentinels from their post, was owing to the recommendation and advice of the brigade major, Myers; that his not delivering his sword, when it was first demanded, was owing to the influence and arguments of others, who persuaded him it was not his duty; that he had afterwards come to the determination to surrender himself, but was dissuaded by captains Metcalf and Dooley, who assured him it would be a sacrifice of character, and that they would protect him, in the hour of danger; why he still resisted, in the presence of the general, was, that being then at the head of his company, and having undertaken to carry them home, he was restrained, at the moment, by a false idea of honour. This application was aided by the certificate of several of the most respectable officers, then in camp, attesting his uniformly good behaviour heretofore, and expressing a belief that his late misconduct was wholly to be attributed to the interference of others. Influenced by these reasons, but particularly by the seductions which he believed had been practised upon him, by older and more experienced officers in his regiment, the general thought proper to order his liberation from arrest, and his sword to be restored to him. Never was a man more sensible of the favour he had received, or more devoted to his benefactor, than he afterwards became.

While these proceedings were taking place, the rest of the brigade, except captain Willis's company, and twenty-nine of his men, continued their march towards



home, leaving behind, for the further prosecution of the campaign, and the defence of Fort Strother, colonel Lilliard's regiment of militia, whose term of service was within a few weeks of expiring; two small companies of spies, and one of artillery. As Lilliard's regiment had often professed a desire to be led against the enemy, before they quitted the service, Jackson flattered himself with the hope, that they would, for this purpose, willingly remain in the field, a few days beyond the period of their engagements. On the next day, therefore, he caused the following address to be read to that regiment.

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“Major general Cocke having reported that your term of service will expire on the 14th, I assume no claim on you beyond that period. But, although I cannot demand as a right, the continuance of your services, I do not despair of being able to obtain them through your patriotism. For what purpose was it that you quitted your homes, and penetrated the heart of the enemy's country? Was it to avenge the blood of your fellow citizens, inhumanly slain by that enemy;—to give security in future to our extended and unprotected frontier, and to signalize the valour by which you were animated? Will any of these objects be attained if you abandon the campaign at the time you contemplate? Not one! Yet an opportunity shall be afforded you, if you desire it. If you have been really actuated by the feelings, and governed by the motives; which, your commanding general supposes, influenced you to take up arms, and enter the field in defence of your rights, none of you will resist the appeal he now

Address  
to the  
East Ten-  
nessee  
troops.

CHAP. makes, or hesitate to embrace with eagerness, the op-  
 IV. portunity he is about to afford you.

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"The enemy, more than half conquered, but deriving encouragement and hope from the tardiness of our operations, and the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in our camp, are again assembling below us. Another lesson of admonition must be furnished them. They must again be made to feel the weight of that power, which they have, without cause, provoked to war; and to know, that although we have been slow to take up arms, we will never again lay them from our hands, until we have secured the objects that impelled us to the resort. In less than eight days I shall leave this encampment, to meet and fight them. Will any of you accompany me? Are there any amongst you, who, at a moment like this, will not think it an outrage upon honour, for her feelings to be tested by a computation of time? What if the period for which you tendered your services to your country has expired,—is that a consideration with the valiant, the patriotic, and the brave, who have appeared to redress the injured rights of that country, and to acquire for themselves a name of glory? Is it a consideration with them, when those objects are still unattained, and an opportunity of acquiring them is so near at hand? Did such men enter the field like hirelings,—to serve for pay alone? Does all regard for their country, their families, and themselves, expire with the time, for which their services were engaged? Will it be a sufficient gratification to their feelings, that they served out three months, without seeing the enemy, and then abandoned the campaign, when the enemy was in the neigh-

bourhood, and could be seen and conquered in ten days? Any retrospect they can make, of the sacrifices they have encountered, and the privations they have endured, can afford but little satisfaction under such circumstances;—the very mention of the Creek war, must cover them with the blushes of shame, and self-abasement. Having engaged for only three months, and that period having expired, you are not bound to serve any longer:—but are you bound by nothing else? Surely, as honourable and high-minded men, you must, at such a moment as the present, feel other obligations than the law imposes. A fear of the punishment of the law, did not bring you into camp;—that its demands are satisfied, will not take you from it. You had higher objects in view,—some greater good to attain. This, your general believes,—nor can he believe otherwise, without doing you great injustice.

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“ Your services are not asked for longer than twenty days; and who will hesitate making such a sacrifice, when the good of his country, and his own fame are at stake? Who, under the present aspect of affairs, will even reckon it a sacrifice? When we set out to meet the enemy, this post must be retained and defended; if any of you will remain, and render this service, it will be no less important, than if you had marched to the battle; nor will your general less thankfully acknowledge it. Tuesday next, the line of march will be taken up: and in a few days thereafter, the objects of the excursion will be effected. As patriotic men, then, I ask you for your services; and, thus long, I have no doubt you will cheerfully render them. I am well aware, that you are all anxious to return to your

CHAP. families and homes, and that you are entitled to do so ;

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yet stay a little longer,—go with me, and meet the enemy, and you can then return, not only with the consciousness of having performed your duty, but with the glorious exultation, of having done even more than duty required.”

What was hoped for, from this address, did not result. Difficulties were constantly pressing ; and whilst one moment gave birth to expectation, the next served but to destroy it. Jackson had been already advised, that adequate numbers would shortly come to his relief ; and until this could be accomplished, it was desirable to retain those already with him, to give to his posts greater protection. Whilst measures were adopting in Tennessee, to effect this fully, about a thousand volunteers were moving out, to preserve an appearance of opposition, and keep secure what had been already gained. With this force, added to what he already had, if in his power to keep them, he believed he would be able to advance on the enemy, make a diversion in favour of the Georgia army, and obtain other important advantages. With this view, he had addressed this regiment, and brought before them such considerations, as might be supposed calculated to excite a soldier's ardour. But, in answer to his address, colonel Lilliard replied, that having called upon the several captains in his regiment, to make a statement of those in their respective companies, who were willing to remain beyond the period of their engagement, it appeared that none would consent to do so, except captain Hamilton and three of his men,

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The East  
Tennes-  
see troops  
return  
home.

As nothing but an unnecessary consumption of supplies was now to be expected from detaining them the few days that yet remained of their term, orders were given colonel Lilliard, to make the proper arrangements for taking up the line of march to Fort Armstrong, on the 10th; whence he was directed to proceed to Knoxville, and receive the orders of general Cocke for their discharge. Particular instructions were given, to have the strictest police observed in his camp, and the utmost order preserved on his march, that no depredations might be committed on the persons or property of the Indians, through whose country he was to pass; or on the citizens of Tennessee.

Meantime, the volunteers, lately raised, had arrived at Huntsville, where they were directed to remain, until sufficient supplies could be had at headquarters. Could they have proceeded directly on, they would have reached the general sufficiently early to have enabled him to proceed against the enemy, before the period at which Lilliard's regiment would have been entitled to a discharge. His exertions, to have in readiness, the arrangements necessary to the accomplishment of this end, had been indefatigable. General Cocke had been directed to give instructions to his quarter master, to forward to Fort Strother the provisions that should arrive at Fort Armstrong; to proceed thence to Ross', and make proper arrangements for the speedy transportation, from that place to Deposit, of all the bread stuff, which the contractor had been required to lay in at that depot; and to have procured and sent from East Tennessee, a competent supply of that article, as well for the troops then in the field, as

CHAP. for those he had been ordered to raise. The more

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certainly to effect this object, he had, on the 20th of December, despatched his own quarter master, and adjutant general, to Deposit and Huntsville, to push on what should be collected, and on hand, at these places ; and had, at the same time, despatched one of the sub-contractors from camp, with directions to examine the situation of the different depots ; and, if found insufficient to meet the requisition he had made, to proceed immediately to the settlements in Tennessee, and lay in the necessary supplies. To the contractors themselves, he had addressed orders and exhortations almost without number ; and, indeed, from every source, and through every channel that the hope of relief could be discerned, had he directed his exertions to obtain it.

Having thus strained every nerve, and unceasingly directed all his efforts towards the accomplishment of this object, he had, for a while, flattered himself with the hope that these multiplied endeavours would enable him to bring on his new troops in time for that combined movement with the East Tennessee militia, which he so much desired. So important did he consider this measure, that he was willing to subject himself to considerable hazard, rather than not effect it. To colonel Carroll he wrote, on learning that he was on his way, with the newly raised troops, " I am happy to hear of your success, in procuring volunteers. I shall receive, with open arms, those who, in this hour of need, so gallantly come forth, to uphold the sinking reputation of their state. I am more anxious than ever to re-commence operations, and indeed they have become more necessary than ever ; yet I cannot move

without supplies. As this will meet you near where the contractors are, you will be better able to ascertain than I can inform you, when that happy moment will arrive : and I pray you, use your best exertions to have it brought about, with the least possible delay. Until supplies, and the means of transportation can be furnished, to justify another movement from this place, it will be better that you remain where your horses can be fed. I say this, upon the supposition that this will shortly be done ; but were it certain that the same causes of delay, which have so long retarded our operations, were still to continue, I would, at every risk, and under every responsibility, take up the march, so soon as the troops, now with you, could arrive. For such a measure, I should seek my justification in the imperiousness of the circumstances by which I am surrounded ; and rely for success upon heaven, and the enterprise of my followers.

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“ Partial supplies have arrived, for my use, at Fort Armstrong, which will be ordered on to-morrow. This, with the scanty stock on hand, will at least keep us from starving a few weeks, until we can quarter upon the enemy, or gain assistance from the country below. General Claiborne, who is encamped eighty-five miles above Fort Stoddart, writes me, that arrangements are made, to send supplies up the Alabama, to the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. Upon such resources will I depend, sooner than wait until my army wastes away, or becomes, through inaction, unfit for service.”

The hopes, however, which had been cherished, of combined operations, with all the forces at that time

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under his control, he was compelled, by the late events in his camp, to relinquish ; but although these were highly discouraging, they were far from inducing him to despond. He was strongly persuaded of the necessity of proceeding ; and determined, that as soon as it were possible, he would prosecute the campaign, with the feeble force he had at his command, deferring the period for more active operations, until the expected reinforcements, collecting in Tennessee, could be brought into the field.\*

\* These troops were calculated but for a single adventure, and no more. Colonel Carroll was unable to procure volunteers for six months, or during the campaign, as had been required by the order under which he acted. He had considered it so essential to have troops of some description engaged, that, rather than not obtain them at all, he had accepted them for sixty days, and taken them as mounted men, instead of infantry, which were not to be procured. This latter circumstance requiring a large quantity of supplies, occasioned them to be kept back much longer than would have been necessary, had they been troops of a different description. As there was no law, either of the state or general government, for a period so limited, which seemed too short to promise any very beneficial effects, the general was in doubt, whether or not to receive them ; but, believing he might make a partial excursion, and thereby produce a diversion, favourable to the Georgia troops, who, relying on his co-operation, might be perhaps greatly endangered ; and considering that their rejection might tend to the injury of the campaign, he finally concluded to accept them. Previously to doing so, he stated his objections, and the difficulties he felt ; and endeavoured to prevail on them to enlarge their term of service : to this they would not agree ; when, rather than lose them entirely, he consented to receive them.



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Additional  
troops  
arrive.

On the second of January, colonel Carroll and Mr. Blackburn, having proceeded from Huntsville, arrived at head quarters, to receive instructions, as to the manner in which the volunteers should be organized; and to learn the time when they would be required to be brought up. Having reported their strength to be eight hundred and fifty, they were directed to have them formed, as had been desired, into two regiments, under officers of their own choice; and an order was put into their hands, for general Coffee, who was then at Huntsville, requiring him to march them to Fort Strother, by the 10th instant. That officer, whose feelings had been sufficiently harrowed by the late conduct and defection of his brigade, learning that those troops were unwilling he should have the command of them, had expressed a wish to general Jackson, that it might not be assigned him; in consequence of which, and their own request, the latter had determined, after their arrival at his camp, that there should be no intermediate commander over them, between their colonels and himself. With this proposed arrangement, and the nature and extent of the order borne to general Coffee, colonel Carroll and Mr. Blackburn were instructed to make the troops acquainted; and were particularly requested to use their best endeavours, to remove any erroneous impressions that might have been made upon their minds, by those who had so lately abandoned their duty, and who had laboured to instil in others their own prejudices and passions. They were charged, too, with the communication of a flattering address from the general, who considered it of the utmost importance, to guard, by all the means in

CHAP. his power, against the contamination of a corps, upon  
IV. which his only hopes at present rested.

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General Coffee, having received the instructions which general Jackson had sent him, immediately gave orders to colonels Perkins and Higgins, who had been chosen to the command of the two regiments, to march them directly for head quarters; explaining, in his order, the reasons that had induced him to issue it. To his entire astonishment, both these officers refused to obey it; alleging, in a written statement they made, that general Coffee had no command over them, and that they would disregard any he might attempt to exercise. Colonel Perkins, on its being shown him, by the brigade inspector, even went so far as to refuse to return it, or permit his taking a copy; thereby placing it out of his power, to make it known to the rest of the brigade.

Unwilling as Coffee was, to create any additional perplexities to the commanding general, or occasion new disturbances, at such a crisis; nevertheless, influenced by a regard for his own reputation, which he believed to be wantonly and wickedly assailed, by this contumacious refusal to obey an order which the occasion and his instructions required him to issue, he felt himself constrained to demand the arrest of those officers.

This application, with charges and specifications of so serious a nature, against his officers highest in command, placed Jackson in a very delicate situation. To commence the exercise of authority over troops wholly unacquainted with service, by the arrest of those in whom they had reposed such distinguished confidence,

might be attended with consequences fatal to his views, and the success of the contemplated expedition. On the other hand, he was fully sensible of the injury that had been done the feelings of an officer, acting under the authority of his instructions, and how much justice required them to be repaired : nor was he less sensible of the feeble reliance that could be reposed on men, who seemed to make a merit of disobedience and insubordination, especially if, from indulgence, they should derive encouragement to licentiousness. But however his mind might oscillate between the evil consequences of either alternative, he knew that the course pointed out by duty was a plain one, should Coffee persist in his demand.

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Notwithstanding the strong injunctions and weighty considerations that had been urged, to produce an expeditious movement, it was not until the 13th, that Perkins and Higgins reached head quarters, with their regiments. Finding, on their arrival, that they were likely to be noticed, on charges which their better-informed friends advised them would not only deprive them of command, but involve them in disgrace, Higgins immediately came forward, and made an honourable and satisfactory concession. Colonel Perkins remained rather more obstinate ; but after balancing, for several days, between pride and prudence, he at length yielded, though with a bad grace, and offered general Coffee an apology, in which he pleaded ignorance of military duty, as an excuse for his misconduct. That the service, at a crisis so important, might not be injured by any private feuds, the charges were withdrawn.

CHAP. Every preparation was now made, to hasten an ac-  
IV. complishment of the objects in view. The whole  
1814. effective force consisted, at this time, by the reports,  
of little more than nine hundred men, and was, in  
reality, below that number.

Being addressed by the general, on the occasion ; on the 15th, the mounted troops commenced their march, and moved to Wehoguee creek, three miles from the fort. Jackson, with his staff, and the artillery company, joined them next morning, at that place, and continued the line of march to Talladega, where about two hundred friendly Indians, Cherokees and Creeks, badly armed, and much discouraged at the weakness of his force, were added to his numbers, without increasing much his strength. Seldom, perhaps, has there been an expedition undertaken, fraught with greater peril than this. A thousand men, entirely unacquainted with the duties of the field, were to be marched into the heart of an enemy's country, without a single hope of escape, but from victory, and that victory not to be expected, but from the wisest precaution, and most determined bravery. Although so pregnant with danger, to march was the only alternative that could be prudently adopted. No other could afford a diversion favourable to general Floyd, who was advancing with the army from Georgia, or give favourable results to the campaign, without which it must soon have been abandoned, for want of men to prosecute it. Another reason rendered such a movement proper, and indispensable. The officer commanding at Fort Armstrong had received intelligence, on which was placed the utmost reliance, that the war-

rriors, from fourteen or fifteen towns on the Tallapoosa, were about to unite their forces, and attack that place; which, for the want of a sufficient garrison, was in a weak and defenceless situation. Of this, general Jackson had been advised. The present movement, above all others, was best calculated to prevent the execution of such a purpose, if it were in truth intended. On reaching Talladega, he received a letter from the commandant at Fort Armstrong, confirmatory of the first information that had been obtained, and which left it no longer a matter of doubt, but an attack would be waged against that depot. One also from general Pinckney, by express, arrived, advising him that Floyd, on the 10th instant, would move from Coweta, and in ten days thereafter, establish a position at Tuckabatchee; and recommended, if his force would allow him to do no more, that he should advance against such of the enemy's towns, as might be within convenient distance; that, by having his troops employed, he might keep disaffection from his ranks, and be, at the same time, serviceably engaged in harassing the enemy. If, therefore, he could have hesitated before, there was now no longer any room to do so. By an expeditious movement, he might save Fort Armstrong, and render an essential service to general Floyd, by detaching a part of the clans destined to proceed against him. The force which might act against either, was understood to be then collected in a bend of the Tallapoosa, near the mouth of a creek called Emuckfaw, and thither he determined, by the nearest route, to direct his course.

As he progressed on the march, a want of the necessary knowledge in his pilots, of subordination in his

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Expedi-  
tion  
against  
the In-  
dians.

CHAP. troops, and skill in the officers who commanded them,  
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became more and more apparent ; but still their ardour to meet the enemy was not abated. Troops unacquainted with service are oftentimes more sanguine than veterans. The imagination too frequently portraying battles in the light of a frolic, keeps danger concealed, until, suddenly springing into view, it seems a monster too hideous to be withstood.

On the evening of the 21st, sensible, from the trails he had fallen in upon, fresh, and converging to a point, that he was in the neighbourhood of the enemy, Jackson encamped his little army in a hollow square, on an eligible site, upon the eminences of Emuckfaw, sent out his spies, posted his piquets, doubled his sentinels, and made the necessary arrangements to guard against attack. About midnight, the spies came in, and reported they had discovered a large encampment of Indians, at about three miles distance, who, from their whooping and dancing, were no doubt apprized of his arrival. Every thing was ready for their reception, if they meditated an attack, or to pursue in the morning, if they did not. At the dawn of day, the alarm guns of our sentinels, succeeded by shrieks and savage yells, announced their presence. They commenced a furious assault on the left flank, commanded

Battle of  
Emuckfaw  
Jan. 22.

by colonel Higgins, which was met and opposed with great firmness. General Coffee, and colonels Carroll and Sitler, instantly repaired to the point of attack, and, by example and exhortation, encouraged the men to a performance of their duty. The action raged for half an hour ; the brunt of which being against the left wing, it had become considerably weakened. It being

now sufficiently light to ascertain, correctly, the position of the enemy, and captain Ferril's company having come up, and reinforced the left wing, the whole charged, under general Coffee, and a rout immediately ensued. The friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles, with considerable loss. We had five killed, and twenty wounded. Until it became light enough to discern objects, our troops derived considerable advantage from their camp fires ; these being placed at some distance without the encampment, afforded a decided superiority in a night attack, by enabling those within to fire, with great accuracy, on an approaching enemy, whilst they themselves remained invisible, in the dark.

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The pursuit being over, Jackson detached general Coffee, with the Indians, and four hundred men, to destroy the enemy's encampment, unless he should find it too strongly fortified ; in which event, he was to give information immediately, and wait the arrival of the artillery. Coffee, having reconnoitred this position, and found it too strong to be assailed with the force he commanded, returned to camp. The wisdom of this determination was soon perceived. He had not returned more than half an hour, when a severe fire was made upon the piquets, posted on the right, accompanied with prodigious yelling. General Coffee, having obtained permission, proceeded to turn the left flank of the assailants. This detachment being taken from different corps, he placed himself at their head, and moved briskly forward. Those in the rear, availing themselves of this circumstance, continued to drop off, one by one, without his knowledge, until the whole

CHAP. number left with him, did not exceed fifty. It was

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fortunate, that the force of the enemy he had first to attack, was not greater. He found them occupying a ridge of open pine timber, covered with low under-wood, which afforded them many opportunities for concealment. To deprive them of this advantage, which they are very dexterous in taking, Coffee ordered his men to dismount and charge them. This order was promptly obeyed, and some loss sustained in its execution; the general himself was wounded through the body, and his aid, major Donelson, killed, by a ball through the head;—three of his men also fell. The enemy, driven back by the charge, took refuge on the margin of a creek, covered with reeds, where they lay concealed.

Second  
battle of  
Emuck-  
shaw.  
Jan. 22.

The savages having intended the attack on the right as a feint, now, with their main force, which had been concealed, made a violent onset on our left line, which they hoped to find weakened, and in disorder. General Jackson, however, who had apprehended their design, was prepared to meet it: this line had been ordered to remain firm in its position; and when the first gun was heard in that quarter, he had repaired thither in person, and strengthened it by additional forces. The first advance of the enemy, though sudden and violent, was sustained with firmness, and opposed with great gallantry. The battle was now maintained by the assailants, by quick and irregular firing, from behind logs, trees, shrubbery, and whatever could afford concealment: behind these, prostrating themselves after firing, and, re-loading, they would rise and again discharge their guns. After sustaining their fire



In this way for some time, a charge, to dislodge them from their position, was ordered: and the whole line under colonel Carroll, by a most brilliant and steady movement, broke in upon them, threw them into confusion, and they fled precipitately away. The pursuit commenced, and they were overtaken and destroyed in considerable numbers: their loss was great, but not certainly known.

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In the mean time, general Coffee had been endeavouring; as far as prudence would permit him to make the attempt, to drive the savages on the right from the fastnesses into which they had retired; but finding that this could not be done, without much hazard, and considerable loss, he began to retire, towards the place where he had first dismounted. This expedient, designed for stratagem, produced the desired end. The enemy, presuming it a retreat, and to have been adopted in consequence of the severe firing they had heard on the left wing, now forsook their hiding places, and rapidly advanced upon him. That officer immediately availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded, of contending with them again on equal terms: and a severe conflict commenced, and continued about an hour, in which the loss on both sides was nearly equal. At this critical juncture, when several of the detachment had been killed, many wounded, and the whole greatly exhausted with fatigue; the dispersion of the enemy being effected on the left, a reinforcement was despatched by general Jackson, which, making its appearance on the enemy's left flank, put an end to the contest. General Coffee, although severely wounded, still continued the fight, and availing himself

CHAP. of the arrival of this additional strength, instantly or-  
IV. dered a charge; when the enemy, foreseeing their  
1814. doom, fled in consternation, and were pursued with  
dreadful slaughter. It is believed that at this place  
none escaped. Thus drew to a close, a day of almost  
continual fighting.\*

Having brought in and buried the dead, and dressed the wounded, preparations were made, to guard against an attack by night, should one be attempted, by ordering a breast-work of timber around the encampment; a measure the more necessary, as the spirits of our troops, most of whom had never before seen an enemy, were observed visibly to flag, towards the evening. Indeed, during the night, it was with the utmost difficulty the sentinels could be kept at their posts, who, expecting, every minute, the appearance of the enemy, would, at the least noise, fire and run in. The enemy, however, whose spies were around our encampment all night, did not think proper to attack us in this position. The next day, general Jackson, having effected, as he believed, so far as he could, the main objects of the expedition, a diversion in fa-

\* The Indians had designed their plan of operations well, though the execution did not succeed. It was intended to bring on the attack at three different points, at the same time; but a party of the Chealegrans, one of the tribes which compose the Creek confederacy, who had been ordered to assail the right extremity of our front line, instead of doing so, thought it more prudent to proceed to their villages, happy to have passed, undiscovered, the point they had been ordered to attack. But for this, the contest might have terminated less advantageously.

vour of general Floyd, who was, at this juncture, supposed to be carrying on his operations, lower down on the Tallapoosa, and the relief of Fort Armstrong, began to think of returning to the Ten Islands. Many reasons concurred to render such a measure proper, and indeed indispensable. Not having set out prepared to make a permanent establishment, his provisions were growing extremely scarce; and the country itself afforded no means of subsistence, either for his men or their horses. His wounded, many of whom were exceedingly dangerous, required to be speedily taken care of; whilst the present temper of his soldiery precluded all hope that he should be able to effect any thing further, of great consequence. Besides, if the object were still further to cripple the enemy, this would be more certainly attained, by commencing a return, which, having the appearance of retreat, would probably induce a pursuit, than by attacking them in their strong holds; in which event, too, the diversion contemplated would be the more complete, by drawing them in a different direction. Determined by these considerations, Jackson ordered litters to be formed, for the transportation of the sick and wounded, and the other preparations to be made, for a return march. Every thing being ready, it was commenced at ten o'clock next morning, and continued without interruption, until nearly night; when the army was encamped a quarter of a mile on the south side of Enotichopco creek, in the direction to the ford, at which it had been passed, in proceeding out.

As it was pretty evident that the enemy had been in pursuit during the day, a breast-work was thrown up,

CHAP. with the utmost expedition, and every arrangement  
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made to repel their attempts, should they meditate an attack, during the course of the night, or on the succeeding morning. The night having been permitted to wear away without any disturbance, and without any appearance of an enemy, the general was led to conjecture that an ambuscade had been prepared, and that an attack would be made on him, whilst crossing the creek in his front; which, being deep, and the banks rugged, and thickly covered with reeds, afforded many advantages for such a design. Near the crossing place, was a deep ravine, formed by the projection of two hills, overgrown with thick shrubbery and brown sedge, which afforded every convenience for concealment, whilst it entirely prevented pursuit. Along this route, the army, in going out, had passed; through it, as might have been expected, it would again return; and here, it was believed, an ambuscade would be formed, if any were intended. Acting under these impressions, and to guard against them, Jackson determined to take a different route. He secretly despatched, early next morning, a few pioneers, to ascertain and designate another crossing place below. A suitable one was soon discovered, at about six hundred yards distance from the old one; and thither the general now led his army; having formed his columns, and the front and rear guards, previously to commencing the march.

A handsome slope of open woodland led down to the new ford, where, except immediately on the margin of the creek, which was covered with a few reeds, there was nothing to obstruct the view. The front

guards, and part of the columns, had passed ;—the wounded were also over, and the artillery just entering the creek, when an alarm gun was heard in the rear. The Indians, finding the route had been changed, quitted the defile where they expected to commence the assault, and advanced upon a company, under the command of captain Russell, which marched in the rear. Though assailed by greatly superior numbers, it returned the fire, and gradually retired, until it reached the rear guard, who, according to express instructions given, were, in the event of an attack, to face about, and act as the advance ; whilst the right and left columns should be turned on their pivots, so as completely to loop the enemy, and render his destruction sure. The right column of the rear guard was commanded by colonel Perkins, the left by lieutenant colonel Stump, and the centre column by colonel Carroll. Jackson was just passing the stream, when the firing and yelling commenced. Having instructed his aid to form a line for the protection of the wounded, who were but a short distance in advance, and afterwards to turn the left column, he himself proceeded to the right, for a similar purpose. What was his astonishment, when, calculating on certain victory, he beheld the right and left columns of the rear guard, after a feeble resistance, precipitately give way, bringing with them confusion and dismay, and obstructing the passage, over which the principal strength of the army was to be re-crossed ! This shameful flight was well nigh being attended with the most fatal consequences ; which were alone prevented by the determined bravery of a few. Nearly the whole of the centre column had fol-

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Battle of  
Enoti-  
chopco.  
Jan. 23.

CHAP. lowed the example of the other two, and precipitated  
IV. themselves into the creek : not more than twenty had

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remained, to oppose the violence of the first assault. The artillery company, commanded by lieutenant Armstrong, and composed of young men of the first families, who had volunteered their services, at the commencement of the campaign, formed with their muskets, before the piece of ordnance they had, and hastily dragged it from the creek to an eminence, from which they could play to advantage. Here an obstinate conflict ensued ; the enemy endeavouring to charge and take it, whilst this company formed with their muskets, and resolutely defended it. These young men, the few who remained with colonel Carroll, and the gallant captain Quarles, who soon fell at their head, with Russell's spies, not exceeding one hundred in the whole, maintained, with the utmost firmness, a contest, for many minutes, against a force five times greater than their own, and checked the advance of a foe, already greatly inspirited, from the consternation his first shock had produced. Every man who there fought, seemed to prefer death to flight. The brave lieutenant Armstrong fell, at the side of his piece, by a wound in the groin, and exclaimed, as he lay, "Some of you must perish ; but don't lose the gun." By his side, fell, mortally wounded, his associate and friend, Bird Evans, and the gallant captain Hamilton ; who, having been abandoned by his men, at Fort Strother, with his two brothers and his aged father, had attached himself to the artillery company, as a private, and, in that capacity, showed how deserving he was to command, by the fidelity with which he

obeyed. In the mean time, general Jackson and his staff had been enabled, by great exertions, to restore something like order, out of confusion. The columns were again formed, and put in motion ; and small detachments had been sent across the creek, to support the little band, that there maintained their ground. The enemy, perceiving a strong force advancing, and being warmly assailed on their left flank, by captain Gordon, at the head of his company of spies, who had advanced from the front, and re-crossed the creek, in turn, were stricken with alarm, and fled away, leaving behind their blankets, and whatever was likely to retard their flight. Detachments were ordered on the pursuit, who, in a chase of two miles, destroyed many, and wholly dispersed them.

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In despite of the active exertions made by general Jackson, to restore order, they were, for some time, unavailing, and the confusion continued. In addition to the assistance received from his staff, who were every where encouraging, and seeking to arrest the flight of the columns, he derived much from the aid of general Coffee. That officer, in consequence of the wound he had received at Emuckfaw, had, the day before, been carried in a litter. From the apprehensions indulged, that an attack would probably be made upon them that morning, he had proceeded from the encampment on horseback, and aided, during the action, with his usual calm and deliberate firmness. Indeed, all the officers of his brigade, who, having been abandoned by their men, had formed themselves into a corps, and followed the army without a command, rendered manifest, now, the value of experience. This

CHAP. was not a moment for rules of fancied etiquette. The

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very men who, a little time before, would have disdained advice, and spurned an order from any but their own commanders, did not scruple now to be regulated by those, who seemed to be so much better qualified, for extricating them from their present danger. The hospital surgeon, Dr. Shelby, appeared in the fight, and rendered important military services. The adjutant general, Sitler, than whom none displayed greater firmness, hastened across the creek, in the early part of the action, to the artillery company, for which he felt all the *esprit de corps*, having been once attached to it; and there remained, supporting them in their duties, and participating in their dangers. Captain Gordon, too, contributed greatly to dispel the peril of the moment, by his active sally on the left flank of the savages. Of the general himself, it is scarcely necessary to remark, that but for him, every thing must have gone to ruin. On him, all hopes were rested. In that moment of confusion, he was the rallying point, even for the spirits of the brave. Firm and energetic, and at the same time perfectly self-possessed, his example and his authority alike contributed to arrest the flying, and give confidence to those who maintained their ground. Cowards forgot their panic, and fronted danger, when they heard his voice, and beheld his manner; and the brave would have formed round his body a rampart with their own. In the midst of showers of balls, of which he seemed unmindful, he was seen performing the duties of subordinate officers, rallying the alarmed, halting them in their flight, forming his columns, and inspiring them by his example. An army, suddenly dismayed, was thus



rescued from the destruction that lately appeared inevitable. Our total loss, in the several engagements, on the 22d, and to-day, was only twenty killed, and seventy-five wounded, some of whom, however, afterwards died. That of the enemy cannot be accurately stated. The bodies of one hundred and eighty-nine of their warriors were found; this, however, may be considered as greatly below the real number; nor can their wounded be even conjectured. As had been generally the case, the greatest slaughter was in the pursuit. Scattered through the heights and hollows, many of the wounded escaped, and many of the killed were not ascertained. It is certain, however, as was afterwards disclosed by prisoners, that considerably more than two hundred of those who went out to battle, never returned; but those who got back, unwilling it should be known they were killed, endeavoured to have it believed, and so represented it, that they had proceeded on some distant expedition, and would be for some time absent.

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After this battle, in which had been anticipated certain success, the enemy no more thought of harassing our march. Having continued it, without interruption, over high, broken, and, for the most part, barren land, we encamped, on the night of the 26th, within three miles of Fort Strother. Thus terminated an expedition replete with peril, but attended with effects highly beneficial. Fort Armstrong was relieved; general Floyd enabled to gain a victory at Autossee, where, but for this movement, which had diverted much of the enemy's strength, he would most probably have met defeat; a considerable portion of the enemy's best forces

CHAP. had been destroyed ; and an end put to the hopes they  
IV. had founded on our previous delays. Discontent had

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been kept from our ranks ; the troops had been beneficially employed ; and inactivity, the bane of every army, had been avoided. But perhaps the greatest good that resulted from the expedition was the effect produced on the minds of the people at home, from whom was to be collected a force sufficient to terminate the war. Experience has often proved the facility with which numbers are brought to a victorious standard ; whilst the ranks of a defeated army are ever with difficulty filled. Any result, therefore, that was calculated to bring an efficient force into the field, was highly important and beneficial.

## CHAPTER V.

The volunteers are discharged.—Execution of a soldier, and the effect produced.—New troops arrive.—Want of supplies.—Conduct of general Cocke.—General Jackson marches against the Indians.—Battle of Tohopeka.—Returns to Fort Williams.—Expedition to Hoithlewalee; its failure, and the causes.—Forms a junction with the Georgia troops, and proceeds to the Hickory ground.—Indians sue for peace.—Weatherford.—Arrival of general Pinckney at head quarters.—Tennessee troops are ordered to be marched home, and dismissed.

The troops having reached, in safety, the post whence they had set out, and their term of service being within a short time of expiring, the general determined to discharge them. The information from Tennessee, was, that there would soon be in the field a considerable force, enlisted for a period sufficient to effect a termination of the Indian war. He was desirous of having every thing in readiness, by the time of their arrival, that they might be moved, without delay, into active service. Detaining his late volunteers, therefore, a short time, to complete boats, for the transportation of his camp equipage and provisions down the Coosa, he ordered them to be marched home, and to be honourably dismissed. The further service of his artillery company was also dispensed with. His part-interview with them was interesting and affecting:

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Volun-  
teers are  
discharg-  
ed.

CHAP. V. they had rendered important services, and adhered to him, with great devotedness, in every vicissitude, and through every difficulty he had encountered, from the first commencement of the campaign. Although, from the high sense entertained of their bravery and fidelity, he would have gladly retained them, yet he was too well convinced of the many sacrifices these young men had made, of the bravery they had displayed, and the patience with which they had submitted to those moments of scarcity, that had raised up discontents and mutiny in his camp, not to feel a desire to gratify their wishes, and permit them, honourably, to retire from a service, which they had already so materially benefited.

February. A letter from Jackson to governor Blount, heretofore noticed, added to his own sense of the importance of the crisis, had induced him to issue an order, on the 3d, directing twenty-five hundred of the militia of the second division, to be detached, organized, and equipped, in conformity to an act of congress, of the 6th of April, 1812. These were to perform a tour of three months, to be computed from the time of rendezvous, which was appointed to be on the 28th instant. He had also required general Cocke to bring into the field, under the requisition of the secretary at war, the quota he had been instructed to raise, at the opening of the campaign. This officer, who had hitherto created so many obstacles, still appeared to desire nothing more ardently than a failure of the campaign. Although many difficulties were feigned, in the execution of the order, he was enabled to muster into service about two thousand, from his division.

The militia are called out for three months.

These, however, as well as those called out from West Tennessee, were but indifferently armed. CHAP.  
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The thirty-ninth regiment, under colonel Williams, also received orders to proceed to Jackson's head quarters, and act under his command, in the prosecution of the war. It arrived on the 5th or 6th of the month, about six hundred strong. Most of the men were badly armed : but this evil was shortly afterwards remedied.

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The quarter masters and contractors were already actively engaged, and endeavouring to procure provisions, and the necessary transportations, for the army. The failures, in regard to former enterprises, are to be ascribed to these two departments ; to the constant endeavour of the contractors, to procure provisions at a reduced price, in order to enhance their profits, and to the fears which they entertained, lest, if they should lay in a large store, it might spoil on their hands. Evils of this kind, growing out of the very nature of the establishment, ought, long since, to have convinced the government of the propriety of resorting to some other and better mode, for supplying its armies, in times of war. The inconveniences in the quarter master's department were, indeed, less chargeable to them, than to causes they could not control ; for, to the extreme ruggedness of the way, over which wagons had to pass, was to be added the real difficulty, in obtaining a sufficient number on the frontiers. That evils so severely felt, might, for the future, be avoided, every facility was afforded these two departments, that the requisition, now made upon them, might be promptly complied with.

Scarcity  
of sup-  
plies.

CHAP. V. To give, however, sufficient time, and to prevent any unnecessary press, the troops, advancing from East and West Tennessee, were directed to be halted, in the rear of the depots, until ample stores, in advance, to justify immediate operations, should be laid in, and the requisite transportation provided.

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About the middle of the month, in expectation that all things were in a state of readiness, from the strong assurances he had received, Jackson ordered the troops to advance, and form an union at head quarters, then at Fort Strother. Greatly to his surprise and mortification, he soon after learned, that the contractor from East Tennessee, had again failed in complying with his engagement, notwithstanding the ample means he possessed, and the full time that had been allowed him for that purpose. The troops, however, agreeably to the order, proceeded on their march. Those from the second division, under brigadier general Johnston, arrived on the 14th; which, added to the force under general Doherty, from East Tennessee, constituted about five thousand effectives. Composed, as this army was, of troops entirely raw, it was not to be expected, that any thing short of the greatest firmness in its officers could restrain that course of conduct and disorder, which had hitherto so unhappily prevailed.

Execution  
of John  
Woods.

The execution of a private, John Woods, who had been sentenced by a court martial, on a charge of mutiny, produced, at this time, the most salutary effects. That mutinous spirit, which had so frequently broken into the camp, and for a while suspended all active operations, remained to be checked. A fit occasion was now presented to evince, that although militia.

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V.

1814.

when at their fire-sides, at home, might boast an exemption from control, yet, in the field, those high notions were to be abandoned, and subordination observed. Painful as it was to the feelings of the general, he viewed it as a sacrifice, essential to the preservation of good order, and left the sentence of the court to be inflicted. The execution was productive of the happiest effects; order was produced, and that opinion, so long indulged, that a militia-man was for no offence to suffer death, was, from that moment, abandoned, and a strict obedience afterwards characterized the army.

Nothing was wanting, now, to put the troops in motion, and actively to prosecute the war, but necessary supplies. Remonstrance, entreaty, and threats, had long since been used, and exhausted. Every mean had been resorted to, to impress on the minds of the contractors the necessity of urging forward, in faithful discharge of their duty; but the same indifference and neglect were still persisted in. To ward off the effects of such great evils,—evils which he foresaw would again eventuate in discontent and revolt, Jackson resolved to pursue a different course, and no longer depend on persons who had so frequently disappointed him. He accordingly despatched messengers to the nearest settlements, with directions to purchase provisions, at whatever price they could be procured. This course, to these incumbents on the nation, afforded an argument much stronger than any to which he had before resorted. Thus assailed, in a way they had not before thought of, by being held and made liable for the amount of the purchases, they exerted themselves in discharge of a duty they had hi-

Scarcity  
of sup-  
plies.

CHAP. thereto shamefully neglected. Every expedient had

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been tried, to urge them to a compliance of the obligations they were under to their government; until the present, none had proved effectual. In one of his letters, about this time, the general remarks: "I have no doubt, but a combination has been formed, to starve us out, and defeat the objects of the campaign; but M'Gee ought to have recollected that he had disappointed and starved my army once; and now, in return, it shall be amply provided for, at his expense. At this point, he was to have delivered the rations,—and whatever they may cost, at this place, he will be required to pay: any price that will ensure their delivery, I have directed to be given." The supplying an army by contractors, he had often objected to, as highly exceptionable and dangerous. His monitor, on this subject, was his own experience. Disappointment, mutiny, and abandonment by his troops, when in the full career of success, and an unnecessarily protracted campaign, were among the evils already experienced, and which he wished, if possible, to be in future avoided.

Under these and other circumstances, which seemed to involve much more serious consequences, the general had but little repose or quietness. Every thing was working in opposition to his wishes. The East Tennessee brigade, under the command of Doherty, having been instructed to halt, until adequate supplies should be received at head quarters, had already manifested many symptoms of revolt, and was with much difficulty restrained from returning immediately home. Added to their own discontents, and unwillingness to



remain in service, much pains had been taken by a personage high in authority, to scatter dissension amongst them, and to persuade them, that they had been improperly called out, and without sufficient authority ;— that the draft was illegal, and that they were under no necessity to serve. Arguments like these, urged by a man of standing, were well calculated to answer the end desired ; what the governing motive was, that gave rise to a course of conduct so strange, is difficult to be imagined ; none was ever avowed, and certainly none can be given, that will account for it satisfactorily. On the morning that general Doherty was about to proceed to head quarters, he was astonished to find a beating up for volunteers, to abandon his camp, and return home. Notwithstanding all his efforts to prevent it, one hundred and eighty deserted. His surprise was still greater, on learning, that a captain from Carter county, had been instructed by major general Cocke, that in the event of his marching back any number of the troops, he would take upon himself to discharge them, on their return to Knoxville. Before this, Cocke had been at the camp of Doherty, and had, by different means, attempted to excite mutiny and disaffection among the troops. As a reason for being unwilling to go with them in command, he stated, that they would be placed in a situation which he disliked to mention, and one which his feelings would not enable him to witness : that they were going out to be placed under the command of general Jackson, who would impose on them the severest trials, and where they would have to encounter every privation and suffering. He represented, that at head quarters there was not a

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Conduct  
of major  
general  
Cocke:

CHAP.  
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sufficiency of provisions on hand to last five days; nor was there a probability that there would be any change of circumstances for the better;—that should they once be placed in the power of Jackson, he would, with the regular force under his command, compel them to serve as long as he pleased. Expressions like these, to men who had never before been in the field, and coming from one who had already been employed in a respectable command, were well calculated to produce serious impressions. Doherty, who was a brigadier in the first division, was at a loss to know how he should proceed with his own major general, who had obtruded himself into his camp, and was endeavouring to excite revolt; he accordingly despatched an express to head quarters, to give information of what was passing. The messenger arrived, and, in return, received an order to Doherty, commanding him, peremptorily, to seize, and send under guard, to Fort Strother, every officer, without regard to his rank, who should be found, in any manner, attempting to incite his army to mutiny. General Cocke, perhaps apprehending what was going on, had retired before this order arrived, and thus escaped the punishment due to so aggravated an offence.

About this time, colonel Dyer was despatched with six hundred men, with orders to proceed to the head of the Black Warrior, and ascertain if any force of the Indians was embodied in that quarter, and disperse them, that they might not, through this route, get in the rear of the army, and cut off the supplies. This detachment having proceeded eight days through the ridges along the Cohawba, had fallen in with a trail

the enemy had passed, stretching eastwardly, and had followed it for some distance. Apprehending that the army might be on the eve of departing from Fort Strother, and being able to gain no certain information of the savages, they desisted from the pursuit, and returned to camp.

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1814.

That there might be no troops in the field, in a situation not to be serviceable, orders were given the brigadiers, to dismiss from the ranks every invalid, and all who were not well armed.

General Jackson having, at length, by constant and unremitted exertions, obtained what supplies were necessary to enable him to proceed, determined to set out and pursue his course, still further into the enemy's country. A fear of the consequences to an army, from inaction; a wish that their time might not be loitered away uselessly; and a consciousness that

March.

a sufficiency of provisions was on the way, and could be sent to him from the post maintained in his rear, prompted him to do so. On the 14th, he commenced his march, and crossing the river, arrived,

Marches  
from Fort  
Strother  
in quest  
of the  
enemy.

on the 21st, at the mouth of Cedar creek, which had been previously fixed on for the establishment of a fort.\* At this place, it became necessary to delay a day or two, with a view to detail a sufficient force, for the protection and safety of this point, and to wait the coming of the provision boats, which were descending the Coosa, and which, as yet, had not arrived.

On the 22d of January, the day of the battle of Emuckfaw, general Coffee, as has been already stated,

\* Fort Williams.

CHAP. V. had been detached to destroy the Indian encampment on the Tallapoosa; having reconnoitred their position, and believing them too strongly posted, to be advantageously assailed by the force he commanded, he had retired, without making the attempt. The position they had chosen was not far from New Youcka, and near the Oakfusky villages. Fortified as it was by nature, and the skill and exertions of the Indians; no other conjecture was entertained, than at this place was intended, a defence of the most determined kind. Learning that the savages were still embodied here, Jackson resolved, so soon as the necessary arrangements could be made to keep open a communication, and preserve in safety his rear, to make a descent on it, and destroy the confederacy; thence, returning to Fort Williams for provisions, to urge forward to the Hickory ground, where he hoped he would be able to put an end to the war.

March.

On the 24th, leaving a sufficient force under brigadier general Johnston, for the protection of the fort, with eight days' provisions he set out for the Tallapoosa, by the way of Emuckfaw. The whole force now with him amounted to less than three thousand effective men; being considerably reduced, by the necessity of leaving behind him strong garrisons at the different forts. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th, after a march of fifty-two miles, he reached the village Tohopeka. The enemy, having gained intelligence of his approach, had collected in considerable numbers, with a view to give him battle. The warriors from the adjacent towns, Oakfusky, Hillabee, Eufalee, and New Youcka, amounting to a thousand

or twelve hundred, were ready, and waiting his approach. They could have selected no place, better calculated for defence; for, independent of the advantages bestowed on it by nature, their own exertions had greatly contributed to its strength. Surrounded almost entirely by the river, it was accessible only by a narrow neck of land, of three hundred and fifty yards width, which they had taken much pains to secure and defend, by placing large timbers, and trunks of trees, horizontally on each other, leaving but a single place of entrance. From a double row of port holes formed in it, they were enabled to give complete direction to their fire, whilst they lay, in perfect security, behind.

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General Coffee, at the head of the mounted infantry, and friendly Indians, had been despatched, early in the morning, from camp, with orders to gain the southern bank of the river, encircle the bend, and make some feint, or manœuvring, by which to divert the enemy from the point where the attack was intended principally to be waged. He was particularly instructed so to arrange and dispose the force under his command, that they might not escape, by passing to the opposite side in their canoes, with which, it was represented, the whole shore was lined. Jackson, with the rest of the army, proceeded to take a post in front of the breast-work. Having planted his cannon on an eminence, about two hundred yards from the front of the enemy's line, with a view to break down his defence, a brisk fire commenced. The musketry and rifles, which occupied a nearer position, were used, as the Indians occasionally showed themselves from behind their works. The artillery was well served, by major

CHAP. V. Bradford, and the fire kept up for some minutes, without making any impression ; time, however, was gained,

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Battle of  
Tohopeka,  
or the  
Horse-  
Shoe.

ed, for complete readiness. The signals having now announced that general Coffee had reached, in safety, his point of destination, on the opposite side of the river, had formed his line, and was ready to act, the order was given to charge. " Never were troops more eager to be led on, than were both regulars and militia. They had been waiting with impatience for the order, and hailed it with acclamations. The spirit that animated them, was a sure augury of the success that was to follow." Between them, there was no difference ; both advanced with the intrepidity and firmness of veteran soldiers. The former, the thirty-ninth regiment, led on by their skilful commander, colonel Williams, and the brave, but ill-fated major Montgomery ; and the militia, under the command of colonel Bunch, moved forward, amidst a destructive fire, that continually poured upon them, and were presently at the rampart. Here an obstinate and destructive conflict ensued, each contending for the port holes, on different sides. Many of the enemy's balls were welded between the muskets and bayonets of our soldiers. At this moment, major Montgomery, leaping on the wall, called to his men to mount, and follow him ; he had scarcely spoken, when, shot through the head, he fell to the ground. Our troops had now scaled their ramparts, when, finding it no longer tenable, the savages retired back, and concealed themselves amidst the brush and timber, that lay thickly scattered over the peninsula, whence they continued resistance, and kept up a galling and constant fire, until they were again charged,

and forced back. Driven to despair, not knowing whither to flee, and resolving not to surrender, they saw no other alternative, than to effect their escape, by passing in their canoes to the opposite bank of the river; from this they were, however, prevented, by perceiving that a part of the army already lined the other shore. Under these circumstances, the remaining warriors, who yet survived the severity of the conflict, betaking themselves to flight, leaped down the banks, and concealed themselves along the cliffs and steeps, which were covered by the trees that had been felled from their margin. From these secreted spots, as an opportunity was afforded, they would fire, and disappear. General Jackson, perceiving that any further resistance would only involve them in utter destruction, sent a flag, accompanied by an interpreter, to propose to them a surrender, and save the further effusion of blood. Whether the proposal were fairly explained, none but the interpreter can know; at any rate, instead of being accepted, as was fully expected would be the case, it was answered by a fire, which wounded one of the party. Finding they would not yield, nor abandon the course of desperation, on which they had resolutely fixed their minds, orders were given to dislodge them. To accomplish this, the artillery was turned against them; but without producing the effect. Lighted torches were now thrown down the steeps, which, communicating with the brush and trees, and setting them on fire, drove them from their hiding places, and brought them to view. Thus the carnage continued, until night separated the combatants; when the few mis-

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CHAP. V. guided savages, who had avoided the havoc and slaughter of the day, were enabled, through the darkness of the night, to make their escape.

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Whilst the attack was thus waged, in front of the line, the friendly Indians, in general Coffee's detachment, under the command of colonel Morgan, with captain Russell's company of spies, were effecting much; and no doubt, to the course pursued by them, on the opposite side, was greatly owing the facility with which the breast-work was scaled, and its possession obtained. The village stood on the margin of the river, and on that part of the peninsula most remote from the fortification. At the line were all their warriors collected. Several of the Cherokees, and Russell's spies having swum across, unobserved, and procured some canoes, a considerable number passed over, entered their town, and fired it. No sooner was this discovered, than their attention and opposition was necessarily divided, and drawn to the protection of a point, which they had hitherto believed secure, and where they had not apprehended an attack. Thus assailed from an unexpected quarter,—a force in their rear, and another, still stronger, advancing on their front, afforded the invading army a much easier and less hazardous opportunity of succeeding in the assault, and securing the victory.

This battle gave a death blow to all their hopes; nor did they venture, afterwards, to make a stand. From their fastnesses in the woods, they had tried their strength, agreeably to their accustomed mode of warfare; in ambuscade, had brought on the attack; and, in all, failure and disaster had been met. The con-



tinual defeats they had received, were, no doubt, the reasons of their having so strongly fortified this place, where they had determined to perish, or be victorious. That such a resolution had been taken, is conclusive, from the circumstance of their having permitted their women and children to remain : these they are always careful to remove far from danger, and their scenes of action. The positive assurance of success they now indulged, had prevented their adhering to this precautionary measure, which, hitherto, they had never overlooked. In this action, the best and bravest of their warriors were destroyed; and a greater loss sustained, than had been met with in any of their previous contests. Few escaped the carnage. Of the killed, many were thrown into the river, whilst the battle raged ;—many, in endeavouring to pass it, were sunk, by the steady fire of Coffee's brigade ; and five hundred and fifty-seven were left dead on the ground. Among the number of the slain, were three of their prophets. Decorated in a manner wild and fantastic,—the plumage of many birds about their heads and shoulders ; with savage grimaces, and horrid contortions of the body, they danced and howled their cantations to the sun. Their dependents already believed a communion with heaven sure, which, moved by entreaties, and offered homage, would aid them in the conflict, and give a triumph to their arms. Fear had no influence ; and when they beheld our army approaching, and already scaling their line of defence, even then, far from being dispirited, hope survived, and victory was still anticipated. Monohoe, a very considerable one, who had cheered the broken spirit of the nation, by his

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CHAP. pretended divinations, fell, mortally wounded, by a  
V. cannon shot in the mouth, while earnestly engaged  
1814. in his incantations, and in urging and encouraging his  
troops resolutely to contend.

Four men, who surrendered, and three hundred women and children, were taken prisoners. That so few warriors should have sought and obtained safety, by appealing to the clemency of the victors, to persons acquainted with the mode of Indian warfare, will not appear a matter of surprise. It seldom happens that they extend or solicit quarter: faithless themselves, they place no reliance on the faith of others; and, when overcome in battle, seek no other protection than dexterity and haste in retreat afford. Another cause for it may be found in a reason already given, in the attack made by a detachment of general Cocke's division, on the Hillabee clans, who were assailed and put to the sword, at a moment when, having asked for peace at discretion, they were expecting it to be given. This misfortune was occasioned alone by a want of concert, in the divisions of our army; but it was past, and with it was gone, on the part of the savages, all confidence in our integrity and humanity; and they looked and trusted for safety, now, to nothing but their own bravery. In this contest, they maintained resistance, fighting and firing from their covert places, long after the hope, either of success or escape, was, or should have been at an end, and after the proposal had been submitted to spare the further useless waste of blood. A few, who had lain quiet, and concealed under the cliffs, survived the severity of the conflict, and effected their retreat, under cover of the night.

Our loss, although considerable, was small, when compared with that of the enemy; the whole estimate, including in it the friendly and Cherokee Indians, being but fifty-five killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded. Of the former was major Montgomery, a brave and enterprising young officer, of the thirty-ninth regiment, and lieutenants Moulton and Somerville, who fell early in the charge.

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The object of the present visit being answered, the general, in pursuance of his first plan, concluded to return to Fort Williams. Having sunk his dead in the river,\* to prevent their being scalped by the savages, and made the necessary arrangements for carrying off his wounded, he commenced his return march for the fort, and in a few days reached it in safety.

Army  
returns  
to Fort  
Williams.

\* Sinking them in the river, in preference to burying them, was adopted from the consideration, that those of our troops, who had previously fallen, had been raised, stripped, and scalped. Many of the Indians at Tohopeka were found in the clothes of those who had been killed and buried at Emuckfaw. It is true that this could operate no injury to the dead; yet it was wished to be prevented for the future. It was a fact well ascertained, that the Creek nation, generally, were ignorant of the extent and number of their defeats; and so long as they could be induced to believe, by those who undertook to account for it in that way, that their missing warriors were still alive, and had gone on some distant enterprise; or could obtain the scalps of the killed, which they always consider as certain evidences of victory, the war would still continue. It was thought, therefore, better to sink than to bury them, as the enemy would be thereby deprived of those badges of national and individual distinction, the effect of which would be to shorten the period of the war.

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April 2.

Address  
to the  
army.

His first object, on his arrival, was to excite, in the breasts of his soldiers, a sense of pride, commensurate with the achievements they had performed, and the valour they had displayed. He was impelled to it from a consciousness that feeling, once subsided, could with difficulty be again aroused; and from a desire to ward off that despondency from his ranks, which had once proved so fatal to his hopes. With a view to these objects, the next day, on parade, before the fort, he published to them this address:

“You have entitled yourselves to the gratitude of your country and your general. The expedition, from which you have just returned, has, by your good conduct, been rendered prosperous, beyond any example in the history of our warfare: it has redeemed the character of your state, and of that description of troops, of which the greater part of you are.

“You have, within a few days, opened your way to the Tallapoosa, and destroyed a confederacy of the enemy, ferocious by nature, and grown insolent from impunity. Relying on their numbers, the security of their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they derided our approach, and already exulted, in anticipation of the victory they expected to obtain. But they were ignorant of the influence of government on the human powers, nor knew what brave men, and civilized, could effect. By their yells, they hoped to frighten us, and with their wooden fortifications to oppose us. Stupid mortals! their yells but designated their situation the more certainly; whilst their walls became a snare for their own destruction. So will it

ever be, when presumption and ignorance contend **CHAP.**  
against bravery and prudence. **V.**

“The fiends of the Tallapoosa will no longer murder our women and children, or disturb the quiet of our borders. Their midnight flambeaux will no more illumine their council-house, or shine upon the victim of their infernal orgies. In their places, a new generation will arise, who will know their duty better. The weapons of warfare will be exchanged for the utensils of husbandry; and the wilderness, which now withers in sterility, and mourns the desolation which overspreads her, will blossom as the rose, and become the nursery of the arts. But before this happy day can arrive, other chastisements remain to be inflicted. It is indeed lamentable, that the path to peace should lead through blood, and over the bodies of the slain: but it is a dispensation of Providence, to inflict partial evils, that good may be produced.

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“Our enemies are not sufficiently humbled,—they do not sue for peace. A collection of them await our approach, and remain to be dispersed. Buried in ignorance, and seduced by their prophets, they have the weakness to believe they will still be able to make a stand against us. They must be undeceived, and made to atone their obstinacy and their crimes, by still further suffering. The hopes which have so long deluded them, must be driven from their last refuge. They must be made to know, that their prophets are impostors, and that our strength is mighty, and will prevail. Then, and not till then, may we expect to make with them a peace that shall be lasting.”

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Understanding that the enemy was embodied, in considerable numbers, at Hoithlewalce, a town situated not far from the Hickory ground, he was anxious to re-commence his operations, as early as possible. The forces under his command, from sickness, the loss sustained in the late battle, and some discharges that had been given, had been too much reduced in strength, to permit him to act as efficiently as was wished. It was desirable, therefore, to effect a junction with the southern army, as soon as possible. The North Carolina troops, under the command of general Graham, an old and experienced revolutionary officer; and those of Georgia, under colonel Milton, were announced to be some where south of the Tallapoosa, and could be at no great distance. To unite with them was an event much desired by Jackson, as well with a view to push his operations more actively, as to be able to procure for his army those supplies which he feared his resources might not sufficiently afford; for, hitherto, he had received from general Pinckney strong assurances, that all complaints on this subject would be at an end, so soon as his, and the southern division, could unite. No time was to be lost, in effecting a purpose so essential. General Jackson accordingly determined to leave his sick and wounded, and the fort, to the care and command of brigadier Johnston, and to set out again for the Tallapoosa. On the 7th, with all his disposable force, he commenced his march, with the double view of effecting an union with the army below, and of attacking, on his route, the enemy's force, collected at Hoithlewalce. His greatest difficulty was in conveying to colo-

nel Milton intelligence of his intended operations. The friendly Indians, who, from their knowledge of the country, had been always selected as expresses, were with difficulty to be prevailed on now, for any such undertaking. Believing their nation to be embodied, in larger numbers than any which had been yet encountered, and that, confiding in their strength, they would be better enabled to go out, searching and spying through the surrounding country, they at once concluded, that any enterprise of this kind would be attended with too great peril and danger, and the difficulty of eluding observation too much increased, for them to adventure. This circumstance had as yet prevented the arrangement of such measures as were best calculated to bring the different divisions to act in general concert. The necessity, however, of such co-operation, was too important, at this moment, not to be effected, if it were possible. Could the enemy, at the point they now occupied, be brought to fight, and a decisive advantage obtained over them, dispirited and broken, they might be induced to submit to any terms, and the war be ended ; but if suffered to escape, they might again collect, give battle at some fortunate and unexpected moment, and thereby protract it a considerable time. To prevent this was desirable ; and in no other way could it so certainly be effected, as if, while the Tennessee troops advanced from the north, the Carolinians and Georgians should make such a disposition as would prevent an escape, by the enemy's crossing the river, and passing off to Pensacola and the Escambia.

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CHAP. V. Having at length succeeded in procuring confidential messengers, previously to setting out on this expedition, Jackson addressed colonel Milton, and advised

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him of his intended movement. To guard against any accident or failure that might happen, different expresses were despatched, by different routes. He informed him that with eight days' provisions, and a force of about two thousand men, he should, on the 7th, take up the line of march, and proceed directly for Hoithlewalee; which he expected to reach and attack on the 11th. He urged the necessity of a proper concert being established in their movements; and either that he should proceed against the same place, about the same time, or, by making some favourable diversion in the neighbourhood, contribute to the successful accomplishment of the objects of the expedition.

Expedition to Hoithlewalee.

His point of destination, owing to the floods of rain which had fallen, and raised the streams to considerable heights, was not reached until the 13th. This delay, unavoidable, and not to be prevented, gave the Indians an opportunity of fleeing from the threatened danger. On reaching a creek, of the same name, which skirted the town, it was so swollen as to be impassable. The savages, gaining intelligence of an approach that was thus retarded, were enabled to escape, by passing the river in their canoes, and gaining the opposite shore. Had colonel Milton fortunately made a different disposition of the troops under his command, and co-operated with the Tennessee division, by guarding the southern bank of the river, their escape would have been prevented, and the whole force, col-



lected here, would either have been destroyed or made prisoners. Although Jackson, in his letter of the 5th, had assured him he would reach the enemy on the 11th; and when prevented by high waters and rotten roads, had again notified him, that he would certainly arrive and attack him by the morning of the 13th; and urged him to guard the south bank of the Tallapoosa; still was the request disregarded, and the savages permitted to escape. Learning they were abandoning their position, and seeking safety in flight, Jackson filed to the right, and overtaking the rear of the fugitives, succeeded in making twenty-five prisoners. At this time, nothing was heard of colonel Milton; but on the same day, having marched about five miles from his encampment at Fort Decatur, and approached within four of Hoithlewalee; he, the next morning, gave notice of an intention to attack the village that day; at this moment the inhabitants and warriors had fled, and the town was occupied and partly destroyed by a detachment from Jackson's army, that had succeeded in passing the creek.

The Georgia army being so near at hand, was a source of some satisfaction, although the escape of the enemy had rendered their presence of less importance, than it otherwise would have been. The stock of provisions, with which the march had been commenced from Fort Williams, was nearly exhausted. Assurances, however, having been so repeatedly given, that abundant supplies would be had on uniting with the southern army, and that event being now so near at hand, all uneasiness upon this subject was at once dispelled. Colonel Milton was immediately applied to,

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Unites  
with the  
Georgia  
army.

Indians  
apply for  
peace.

the situation of the army disclosed, and such aid, as he could extend, solicited. He returned an answer to the general's demand, observing, he had sent some for the friendly Indians, and would, the next day, *lend* some for the remainder of the troops; but felt himself under no obligation to furnish any. Jackson, fully satisfied of its being in his power to relieve him, and that this apparent unwillingness could not, and did not proceed from any scarcity in his camp, assumed a higher ground, and, instead of asking assistance, now demanded it. He stated, that his men were destitute of supplies, and that he had been duly apprized of it; and concluded by ordering him to send five thousand rations immediately, for present relief; and himself and the forces under his command to join him at Hoithle-walee, by ten o'clock the next day. "This order," he remarked, "must be obeyed without hesitation."—It was obeyed. The next day, a junction having been effected, the necessary steps were taken to bring down the provisions deposited at Fort Decatur, and no further inconvenience was afterwards felt for the want of supplies.

Appearances seemed now to warrant the belief, that the war would not be of much longer continuance: the principal chiefs of the Hickory ground tribes were coming in, making professions of friendship, and giving assurances of their being no longer disposed to continue hostilities. The general had been met, on his late march, by a flag from these clans, giving information of their disposition to be at peace. In return they received this answer; that those of the war party who were desirous of putting an end to the contest in

which they were engaged, and becoming friendly, must evince their intention of doing so by retiring in the rear of the army, and settling themselves to the north of Fort Williams: no other proof than this, of their pacific dispositions, would be received. Fourteen chiefs of these tribes had arrived, to furnish still further evidence of their desire for peace. They assured the general that their old king, Fous-hatchee, was anxious to be permitted to visit him in person, but was then on his way, with his followers, to settle above Fort Williams, agreeably to the information he had received by the flag which had lately returned to him.

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Detachments were out to scour the country on the south, with orders to break up any collection of the enemy, that might be heard of in convenient distance. The main body prepared to advance to the junction of the two rivers, where, until now, it had been expected the Indians would make a last and desperate stand.\* Every thing was in readiness to proceed on the march, when it was announced to the general, that colonel Milton's brigade could not move. During the night before, some of his wagon horses having strayed off, persons had been sent in pursuit, and were expected

\* The Hickory ground, or that part of the Creek nation lying in the forks, near where the Coosa and Tallapoosa unite, was called by the Indians *Holy ground*, from a tradition and belief among them, that it never had been trod by the foot of a white man. Acting under the influence of their prophets, and a religious fanaticism, it was supposed they would make greater exertions to defend this, than any other portion of their country.

CHAP. shortly to return with them ; when, it was reported; he

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would be ready to go on. To Jackson, this was a reason for delaying the operations of an army, which as yet he had never learned, nor ever been influenced by. He had indeed been frequently made to halt, though from very different causes. He replied to the colonel's want of preparation, by telling him, that in the progress of his own difficulties, he had discovered a very excellent mode of expediting wagons, even without horses ; and if he would detail him twenty men from his brigade, for every wagon deficient in horses, he would guarantee their safe arrival at their place of destination. Rather than do this, he preferred to dismount some of his dragoons, and thus avoided the necessity of halting, until his lost teams should arrive.

Proceeds  
to the  
Hickory  
ground.

The army continued its march, without gaining intelligence of any embodied forces of the enemy, and reached the old Toulossee Fort, situated on the Coosa, not far from the confluence, at which another was determined to be erected, to be called after the commanding general. Here the rivers approach within an hundred poles of each other, and, again diverging, unite six miles below. At this place, the chiefs of the different tribes were daily arriving, and offering to submit on any terms. They all concurred in their statements, that those of the hostile party, who were still opposed to asking for peace, had fled from the nation, and sought refuge along the coast, and in Pensacola. General Jackson renewed the assurances he had previously given ; that they could find safety in no other way, than by repairing to the section of country

already pointed out to them ; where they might be quiet and undisturbed. CHAP. V.

To put their friendly professions at once to the test, he directed them to bring Weatherford to his camp, tied, that he might be dealt with as he deserved. He was one of the first chiefs of the nation, and had been the principal actor in the butchery at Fort Mimms. Learning from the chiefs, on their return, what had been required of them by Jackson, he was prevailed upon, as being perhaps the safer course, to go and make a voluntary surrender of himself. Having reached the camp, without being known, and obtained admission to the general's quarters, he told him he was Weatherford, the chief who had commanded at Fort Mimms, and, desiring peace for himself and his people, had come to ask it. Somewhat surprised, that one who so richly merited punishment, should so sternly demand the protection which had been extended to others, he replied to him, that he was astonished he should venture to appear in his presence ; that he was not ignorant of his having been at Fort Mimms, nor of his conduct there, for which he well deserved to die. " I had directed," continued he, " that you should be brought to me confined ; had you appeared in this way, I should have known how to have treated you." Weatherford replied, " I am in your power—do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could ; I have fought them, and fought them bravely : if I had an army, I would yet fight, and contend to the last : but I have none ; my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation." Pleased at the firmness of the man, Jackson informed

1814.

Weatherford.

CHAP. him, that he did not solicit him to lay down his arms,  
V. and become peaceable: "The terms on which your  
1814. nation can be saved, and peace restored, has already  
been disclosed: in this way, and none other, can you  
obtain safety." If, however, he wished still to con-  
tinue the war, and felt himself prepared to meet the  
consequences, although he was then completely in his  
power, no advantage should be taken of that circum-  
stance; that he was at perfect liberty to retire, and  
unite himself with the war party, if he pleased; but if  
taken, his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes; if  
this were not desired, he might remain where he was,  
and should be protected.

Weatherford answered, that he desired peace, that  
his nation might, in some measure, be relieved from  
their sufferings; that, independent of other misfortunes,  
growing out of a state of war, their cattle and grain  
were all wasted and destroyed, and their women and  
children destitute of provisions. "But," continued  
he, "I may be well addressed in such language now.  
There was a time when I had a choice, and could have  
answered you: I have none now,—even hope has end-  
ed. Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but  
I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer  
hear my voice: their bones are at Talladega, Tallus-  
hatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not sur-  
rendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there were  
chances of success, I never left my post, nor suppli-  
cated peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask  
it for my nation, and for myself. On the miseries and  
misfortunes brought upon my country, I look back  
with deepest sorrow, and wish to avert still greater

calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my camp on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other ; but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man : I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people, but such as they should accede to : whatever they may be, it would now be madness and folly to oppose. If they are opposed, you shall find me amongst the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who would still hold out, can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge ; and to this they must not, and shall not sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told us where we might go, and be safe. This is a good talk, and my nation ought to listen to it. They shall listen to it."

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The earnestness and bold independence of his conduct left no doubt of the sincerity of his professions. The peace party became reconciled to him, and agreed to bury all previous animosities. In a few days afterwards, having obtained permission, he set out from camp, accompanied by a small party, to search through the forest, for his followers and friends, and persuade them to give up a contest, in which hope seemed to be at an end, and, by timely submission, to save their nation from still further disasters.

The present was a favourable moment for preventing further opposition. The enemy, alarmed and panic struck, were dispersed, and fleeing in different directions. To keep alive their apprehensions, and prevent their recovering from the fears with which they were now agitated, was of the utmost importance. If time were given them to rally, and form further

CHAP. resolutions, some plan of operation might be concert-  
V. ed ; and although it might not be productive of any

1814.

very serious injury, yet it might have a tendency to lengthen out the war, and involve those deluded people in still greater woes. Detachments, sufficiently strong, were accordingly ordered out, to range through the country, prevent their collecting at any point, and to scatter and destroy any who might be found concerting offensive operations. Wherever they directed their course, submission, and an anxious desire for peace, were manifested by the natives. Those who were still bent upon a continuance of the war, and trusted for relief to the aid which their British allies had promised, and which they had been for some time expecting, had retired out of the country, towards the sea ; not doubting but the assistance looked for would shortly arrive, enable them to re-commence hostilities, with better hopes of success, and regain their country, which they now considered as lost. Many of the chiefs and warriors, looking to the defeats they had continually met with, in all their battles ; viewing it as impracticable to resist, with any expectation of better fortune, the numerous forces that were collecting, and threatening them at different points ; and anxious to have spared to them yet a part of their country, determined to discard all ideas of further resistance, and throw themselves for safety on the mercy of their conquerors. To this end, the chief men, from the different tribes, were daily arriving, asking for peace, and that their lives might be spared.

General Jackson was not ignorant of the faithlessness of these people, and how little confidence was to be re-



posed in the professions of an enemy, who, prompted by fear, would be controlled by its influence, only whilst those fears were continued. He well knew they had been too severely chastised, for their friendship or promises to be implicitly relied on, and too much injured not to feel a disposition to renew the conflict with the first flattering hope that dawned. Too many difficulties had been encountered, and too many dangers past, to bring those savages to a sense of duty, to leave them now, with no better security than mere professions. Some arrangement was necessary to be made, that should prove lasting, and ensure certainty. None seemed better calculated for these ends, than what had been already announced ; that those disposed to throw away the war club, and renew their friendly relations with the United States, should retire in the rear of the advance of the army, and occupy the country about Fort Williams, and to the east of the Coosa. The effect of such an arrangement would be this ; that the line of posts, already established, would cut them off from any communication with East Florida ; and, by being placed in that part of the nation, inhabited by the friendly Indians, whose fidelity was not doubted, the earliest intelligence would be had of their hostile intentions, should any be manifested. The proposed conditions were cheerfully accepted : and the different tribes set out, to occupy a portion of their country, which alone promised them protection and safety. Proctor, the chief of the Owewoha war towns, to whom this promised security from danger, had first been made, was reported to be still at home, and to have abandoned all intention of moving, in consequence of permission

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V.

1814.

Security  
offered to  
the In-  
dians

CHAP. given by the United States' agent to the Creeks, for  
 V. him and his warriors to remain at home. . On receiving  
 1814. this information, the general despatched a messenger  
 to him, with information, that whether he or the agent  
 were to be obeyed, he might decide ; but that he would  
 treat as enemies all who did not immediately retire to  
 the section of country he had pointed out. The chief  
 of Owewoha found no difficulty in deciding the ques-  
 tion, and prepared to retire where he had been previ-  
 ously ordered.

Lieutenant colonel Gibson, who had been sent out, with a detachment of seven hundred and fifty men, returned, and reported, that he had proceeded a considerable distance down the Alabama river, and had destroyed several towns of the war party, but could gain no intelligence of a force being any where collected.

By the establishment of Fort Jackson, a line of posts was now formed, from Tennessee and Georgia to the Alabama. The conduct of the Indians clearly manifesting their desire for peace, nothing remained to be done, but to organize the different garrisons in such a manner, that, should any hostile intention be hereafter discovered, it might be crushed, before it should assume any very threatening aspect. What final steps should be taken, and what plans adopted, for permanent security, were to be deferred for the arrival of general Pinckney, who, being in the neighbourhood, would, on the next day, reach Fort Jackson.

General  
 Pinckney  
 arrives at  
 head quar-  
 ters.

On the 20th, general Pinckney arrived, and assumed, in person, the command of the army. The course pursued by Jackson, towards satisfying the Indians,

that to be peaceable was all that was required of them, CHAP. V.  
meeting his approbation, and understanding that the  
chiefs and warriors of the nation were retiring, with  
their families, where they had been directed, he was  
satisfied hostilities would now cease. Independent of  
their professions, heretofore given, much of the prop-  
erty plundered at Fort Mimms, and along the fron-  
tiers, having been brought in and delivered, no doubt  
was entertained, but that all further national opposition  
would be withdrawn. There being no necessity,  
therefore, for maintaining an army longer in the field,  
orders were issued, on the 21st, for the troops from  
Tennessee to be marched home, and discharged; tak-  
ing care, on the route, to leave a sufficient force, for  
the garrisoning and protection of the posts already es-  
tablished.

To troops who had been engaged in such hasty and  
fatiguing marches, who had been so much and so often  
exposed to hardships and dangers, and who had now, by  
their zealous exertions in the cause of their country,  
brought the war to a successful termination, and severely  
chastised the savages, for their unprovoked outrages up-  
on their defenceless frontiers, it was a pleasure to retire  
to their homes, from the scenes of wretchedness they had  
witnessed, and from a contest, where every thing being  
performed, nothing remained to be done. It was a  
cheering reflection to them, that, their trials being over,  
they were retiring to their families and homes, and  
carrying with them that sweetest and happiest of all  
consolations, to a war-worn soldier's mind, that, in  
the trying and difficult situations in which they had  
been placed, they had acted with honour to themselves,  
and fidelity to their country.

CHAP. Whilst these arrangements were making, the friend-

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ly Creeks were engaged in pursuing and destroying their fugitive countrymen, with the most unrelenting rigour. To have been at the destruction of Fort Mimms, was a ground of accusation against a warrior, which at once placed him without the pale of mercy. They viewed, or affected to view, this unwarranted and unprovoked offence, with sentiments of deeper inveteracy, than did even our own troops. Meeting a small party, who were on their way to camp, to submit themselves on the terms that had been previously offered, and understanding they had accompanied Weatherford, in his attack on this fort, they arrested their progress, and put them to death. Pursuing a course of this kind, was well calculated to keep alive the timid apprehensions of the Indians, and induce them to consider the proffered terms of peace as a stratagem, to lure them into danger, and effect their destruction: sensible of this, general Pinckney took immediate steps to prevent its again recurring.

To see the people of the same nation, marshalled in opposition to each other, is not a matter of surprise, on the principles and practice of modern warfare, which affects to prove it right, to seize on any circumstance, that may operate prejudicially to an enemy; but the patriot, whose bosom swells with a love of country, will ever view it with abhorrence: and although, from necessity or policy, he may avail himself of the advantages afforded by such a circumstance, he can never either approve or justify it. Although the war had been commenced, in opposition to the views and wishes of the friendly party, yet it was their duty to have united,

Their entering the ranks of an invading army, and fighting for the extermination of their people, and the destruction of their nation, was a circumstance which evidently marked them as traitors to their country, and justly deserving the severest punishment.

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In two hours after receiving general Pinckney's order, the western troops commenced their return march, and reached Fort Williams, on the evening of the 24th. Immediate measures were adopted, for carrying into effect what had been ordered; to send out detachments, to assail and disperse any of the war party, that might be found on their route, within striking distance.

Tennes-  
see troops  
return  
home.

The East Tennessee troops, having a longer period to serve, were, on that account, selected, to garrison the different posts. General Doherty was directed to detail from his brigade seven hundred and twenty-five men, for the defence of those points, that an open communication might be preserved with Fort Jackson, and to secure, more effectually, a peace, which, being supposed, for the present, to be founded in the fears and distresses of the war party, was perhaps not altogether securely and firmly established.

The general being about to separate from his army, did not omit to declare to them the high sense he entertained of their conduct, and how well they had deserved of their country. "Within a few days," said he, "you have annihilated the power of a nation, that, for twenty years, has been the disturber of your peace. Your vengeance has been glutted. Wherever these infuriated allies of our arch enemy assembled for battle, you pursued and dispersed them. The rapidity

CHAP. of your movements, and the brilliancy of your achieve-  
V. ments, have corresponded with the valour by which  
1814. you have been animated. The bravery you have displayed in the field of battle, and the uniform good conduct you have manifested in your encampment, and on your line of march, will long be cherished in the memory of your general, and will not be forgotten by the country you have so materially benefited."

The constant and rapid movements of these troops for the time they had been in service, had greatly exposed them; and although many hardships had been encountered, yet their duty had been performed without murmuring. A retrospect of the last month will show, that more could scarcely have been done. Fort Williams was reached just four weeks from the time they had left it, on the expedition to Tohopeka, where they had met and conquered the enemy; whence, returning, not with a view to obtain rest, but to recruit the exhausted state of their provisions, in one week was this same army on the way to Hoithlewalee, where, supported in their hopes by their prophets, was collected the strength of the nation; and where, but for the absence of the Georgia army, they would have been captured or destroyed, the war ended, and all apprehension of future resistance quieted. To this point did they urge forward, over mountains, and through torrents of continual rain, that rendered the route almost impassable; and reached and destroyed, on the 14th, a town which the inspired men of the nation had declared was consecrated, and on which no white man was ever to tread with impunity. On the 17th, they are found at the confluence of the Coosa and Tal-

lappoosa, treading still their consecrated soil, and driving the panic-struck savages before them; and again, on the 24th, are at Fort Williams, retiring to their homes, from the labours they had encountered, and the conquests they had gained. In such celerity of movement, is to be found the cause, that secured to Jackson and his army, the uniform successes they obtained. So rapid were his marches, that not unfrequently was he in the neighbourhood of the enemy, before they had received any intelligence of his approach; in addition to this, was attached to him the quality, that few generals ever possessed in a higher degree, of inspiring firmness in his ranks, and making even cowards brave. An entire confidence of success, a full assurance of victory, and a fearlessness and disregard of danger, were the feelings displayed by himself in all difficult situations, and those feelings he possessed the happy faculty of diffusing through his army.

Whether any of the hostile party were still on the Cohawba, or had fled for safety to the British and Spaniards at Pensacola, was uncertain. To ascertain this fact,—to disperse them, and destroy their villages, general Johnston was despatched, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to proceed along this river, to its head branches, effect the object so far as it was practicable, and re-unite with the main army at Deposit. Jackson reported to general Pinckney, that his orders had been complied with; that four hundred troops had been detailed for the protection of Fort Williams, and that he would leave at the other points, a force proportioned to their exposed situations. “The remainder of my troops,” he continues, “I shall march

CHAP. to Tennessee, where I shall discharge them  
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which, I shall no longer consider myself accountable for the manner in which the posts may be destroyed, or the line of communication kept open ;—happy the time for which I offered my services to my government, and the duties they assigned me to perform have terminated together.”

The army proceeded on its march, and crossed the Tennessee river, reached Camp Blount, near Knoxville, where they were discharged from further service. Johnston, who had previously fallen in, had destroyed some of the enemy's towns; but had learned nothing of a force being any where embodied along the route he had taken.

On parting from his troops, the general again before them the recollection he retained of their faithful and gallant conduct, and the patience, which they had borne the privations and hardships of war. On his return, wherever he passed, the plaudits of the people were liberally bestowed. The ardour and zeal he had manifested in the service of his country, the difficulties he had surmounted, and the favourable issue, which, by his exertions, had been given to the contest, that had kept alive the anxieties and fears of the frontier settlers, excited a general gratitude and admiration; all were ready to evince the high sense they entertained, of the success with which every effort had been crowned, and with one accord united in reverence for him, who, by his zealous exertions, and able management, had so greatly contributed to the safety of the country.



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## CHAPTER VI.

Jackson is appointed a major general, in the service of the United States.—Is directed to open a negotiation with the Indians.—Speech of the Big Warrior, a chief of the nation.—Concludes a treaty with the Creek Indians.—His views against Pensacola and East Florida.—General Armstrong's letter.—The Spanish governor is called on for an explanation of his conduct.—His answer.—The adjutant general is despatched to Tennessee, to raise volunteers.—Jackson sets out for Mobile.—Orders the Tennessee troops to advance to his assistance.

A WAR, from which much greater and more serious injuries had been apprehended, was thus happily terminated. Although many valuable lives were lost in the contest, yet were they far less than might have been expected, in contending with an enemy, whose wrath knew no bounds, and whose cruelty was insatiate. To the rapidity with which an army had been collected, and pushed into the heart of their country, was owing the circumstance that the frontiers were not stained with the blood of the settlers. Though humanity may weep over the misfortunes of this people, and regret that they were sunk in such irretrievable woes, yet there is a consolation left; that if it be a crime, it is not chargeable on the American government. Towards them had been exercised every forbearance. For more than twenty years had the

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western people been the victims of their unrelenting cruelties ; and many a parent lives, at this day, whose recollection treasures a child, that bled beneath their murderous hands. Cold Water, on the Tennessee, was long the den of these savages, whence they made their inroads, and, by their inhuman butcheries, kept the frontier inhabitants in perpetual alarm. An expedition, acting without the consent of the government, but with a view to that security their own situation so much demanded, as early as the year 1787, under general Robertson, made a descent on this settlement, and destroyed it. This active and resolute measure ensured them a tranquillity, to which they had hitherto been strangers. Those who escaped, retired to the Black Warrior, carrying with them an additional spirit of revenge, which occasionally displayed itself, in the murder of our citizens, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred ; until the winter of 1813, when their towns were again assailed and destroyed.

The war, in which the United States were engaged with Great Britain, afforded them, as they believed, a safe opportunity to satiate again their angry passions. In addition to former animosities retained, British emissaries had been among them, engaged to excite and encourage them to opposition. Arms and ammunition, from Pensacola, having been liberally furnished, and a belief strongly inspired, that the Americans could be driven off, and the lands they possessed re-gained by the Indians, they at once resolved upon the course they would pursue. The dreadful and cruel assault made on the settlement of Tensaw, was the first intelligence afforded, of the lengths which they had determined to

go. The security of the frontiers, requiring that efficient measures should be taken to defend them, it was time for the government to abandon that moderation and forbearance they had hitherto practised towards these tribes. The legislature of Tennessee, being in session at the time, with a promptness highly honourable, called out the forces of the state, without giving the general government information of the threatened danger, and waiting the result. To protect an extensive country, by erecting garrisons, and relying on them for defence, did not appear to Jackson a course likely to assure its object. He determined, with the troops he could collect on so sudden an emergency, to carry the war to their very doors; and, by giving them employment at home, divert them from their plans, and force them to adopt measures of defence. Urging the contractors, therefore, to be diligent in the discharge of their duties, and to forward supplies, with all possible haste, he took a position at Fort Strother, in the enemy's country. The battle of Talladega, which shortly afterwards followed, gave a severe check, induced them to believe they were contending with a different kind of people from what they had expected, and might have convinced them, too, that the promised safety, offered by their prophets, through their spells and incantations, was mere mockery and nonsense: yet so deluded were they, and so confidently believing in the supernatural powers of these men, that they were ready to attribute a want of success to circumstances, over which these inspired prophets could, in future, claim control: but at length, when it was discovered that the prophets themselves did

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CHAP. VI. not escape that fatality which attended their warriors  
VI. in battle, they began to think, either that they had  
1814. never been commissioned, or that the *Great Spirit*,  
for some unknown cause, had become offended, and  
withdrawn his confidence.

Had Jackson been enabled, at this time, to have prosecuted the campaign, it might have had a much earlier conclusion; but although he had, at the first onset, obtained advantages, from which much benefit might have arisen, yet, from the want of proper exertions on the part of the contractors, he was halted, and compelled to retrace his steps back to Fort Strother. From the delays unavoidably met with here, flowed those grievances which gave a check to further operations. The winter, against which his troops were illy provided, was fast approaching; hardships, and hunger, which was already pressing, with a long and fatiguing campaign in prospect, presenting a thousand imaginary difficulties, excited discontents, which presently broke out into open mutiny; and although the intention of the volunteers, to desert the service, and retire home, was prevented, by the stern and resolute conduct of their general, yet they were thereby unfitted for the duties of the field, because entire confidence was no longer to be reposed. To venture with such troops, who, whilst the tomahawk and scalping knife were uplifted, to wreak vengeance on their devoted frontiers, were coolly construing the effect and meaning of laws, was too unsafe a reliance, for a commander, whose first object was to impress on the minds of the savages, the determination and strength of the government he represented. It was adventuring too largely;

for, should defeat result, the difficulty of drawing a new army to the field, would be increased, and that confidence in troops, so essential to complete success, would thereby be lost. It was believed to be a safer course, to permit them to depart, and await the arrival of another force. These circumstances had a tendency to encourage the Indians, and protract the war. Had the volunteers proceeded with the animation and bravery which characterized them in the battle they had just fought, they would have gradually acquired a confidence, which would have rendered them an overmatch for Indian valour and cunning; whilst by one further successful effort, they might have dispirited the enemy, and ended the campaign. But the arrival of a different description of troops, and the confusion into which they were thrown at the battle of Enótichopco, had encouraged the savages, and induced them to think the contest by no means a hazardous one. That despondency, which had resulted from their previous defeats, was from this moment forgotten; and, again inspirited, they looked to the accomplishment of their object, with hopes of certainty even greater than before. Perhaps, however, it is well that events transpired in the way they did. Had peace been restored in consequence of early fears excited, it might have lasted only until a favourable opportunity occurred of again breaking it; but the war having continued, until the hopes, the strength, and spirit of the nation were exhausted, nothing serious is now to be apprehended, from any hostile disposition that may hereafter be manifested. Other advantages will also result. The uniform and uninterrupted successes,

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CHAP. obtained over them, in all our battles, will impress the

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minds of the savages in our limits, with a higher reverence for the character of our nation, than they have hitherto indulged; give protection to our citizens; and ensure that security to the government, which the mildness it has practised, and the tribute it has constantly given them for their *peace*, has, heretofore, never been able to effect; they will tend to destroy the influence held over them by other nations; and bring them to a conviction, that the United States is the only power, whose hostility they should fear, or whose friendship they should prize.

May.

It was now eight months since general Jackson had left home, to arrest the progress of the Indian war; during most of which time, he had been in a situation of bodily infirmity, that would have directed a prudent man to his bed, instead of the field. During this period, he had never seen his family, or been absent from the army longer than to visit Deposit, and arrange with his contractors some certain plan to guard against a future failure of supplies. His health was still delicate, and rendered retirement essential to its restoration; but his uniformly successful and good conduct, had brought him too conspicuously before the public, for any other sentiment to be indulged, than that he should be placed, with an important command, in the service of the United States.

The resignation of general Hampton, enabled the government, in a short time, to afford him an evidence of the respect it entertained for his services and character. A notice of his appointment as brigadier and brevet major general, was forwarded on the 22d of



May, from the war department. General Harrison CHAP. VI. having, about this time, for some cause, become dis-  
gusted with the conduct of the government towards him, had refused to be longer considered one of her  
military actors; to supply which vacancy, a commis-  
sion of major general was immediately forwarded to  
Jackson. 1814. Jackson is appointed major general.

The contest with the Indians being ended; the first and principal object of the government was, to enter into some definitive arrangement, which should deprive of success, any effort that might hereafter be made, by other powers, to enlist these savages in their wars. None was so well calculated to answer this end, as that of restricting their limits, so as to cut off their communication with British and Spanish agents, in East Florida.

The citizens of Tennessee, learning that commissioners were appointed for the accomplishment of this purpose; and believing themselves as much, or more interested than others, in having such a disposition made, as should give complete security to their borders, petitioned the government that one might be selected from their state. The efforts they had made to effect what had been done; and the interests they had involved, were considerations that the president did not scruple to admit. He accordingly associated general Jackson in the mission, and again required his services for the establishment of a peace, on such terms as should promise to be permanent. The circumstance of colonel Hawkins being appointed, was an additional reason, why any solicitude had been felt, or any petition forwarded. He may have been deceived,

CHAP. VI. and may have founded his opinions upon data presumed to be correct; but his continual declarations, that the Creek Indians intended a rigid adherence to their treaties, at the very moment they were planning their murderous schemes against the frontiers, led the western people to fear, that his agency had lasted too long, to hope that he would steadily pursue that course, which the safety and interest of the country required.

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United States open a negotiation with the Indians.

On the 10th of July, the general, with a small retinue, reached the Alabama; and on the 10th of August succeeded in procuring the execution of a treaty, in which the Indians pledged themselves, no more to listen to foreign emissaries,—to hold no communication with British or Spanish garrisons; guaranteed to the United States, the right of erecting military posts in their country, and a free navigation of all their waters. They stipulated further, that they would suffer no agent or trader to pass among them, or hold any kind of commerce or intercourse with their nation, unless specially deriving his authority from the president of the United States.

To settle the boundary, defining the extent of territory to be secured to the Creeks, and that which they would be required to surrender, was attended with some difficulty; and was increased by the intrigues of the Cherokee nation, who sought to obtain from them, such an acknowledgment of their lines, as would give them a considerable portion of country, never attached to their claim. The Creeks had heretofore permitted this tribe to extend its settlements as low down the Coosa as the mouth of Wills' creek. It was insisted, now, in private caucus, that as they were about to sur-

render all their country, lying on Tennessee river, they should, previously to signing the treaty, acknowledge the extension of the Cherokee boundary, which would secure their claim against that of the United States. The only reply obtained from the Creeks, was, that they could not lie, by admitting what did not in reality exist.

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The United States might, without violence to those feelings benevolence excites, have demanded the whole country, and either have treated the Indians as vassals, or admitted them into their national compact, with such rights of citizenship, as, from their peculiar habits of life, they were calculated safely to use and enjoy; but the humane and generous policy, which had been sedulously maintained, in all transactions with the savages, within their limits, induced the government to require, in the cession, only such portion of their country as should bar every avenue to foreign intrigue, and give additional strength to those sections of the union, which, from their limited extent of territory, and consequent limited population, were unable to afford sufficient supplies, for the subsistence of an army, or to give a partial check to the inroads of an invading enemy. The lines defined by the treaty were so arranged, as fully to meet these objects. Sufficient territory was acquired on the south, to give security to the Mobile settlements, and western borders of Georgia, which had often felt the stroke of Indian vengeance and cruelty; while, at the same time was effected, the important purpose of separating them from the Seminole tribes, and our unfriendly neighbours in East Florida. To Madison county, and the frontiers of Ten-

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nessee, an assurance of safety was given, by the settlements which would be afforded on the lands stretching along the Tennessee river; whilst the extent of the cession west of the Coosa, would cut off all communication with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and prevent, in future, the passage of those emissaries from the north-western tribes, who, during the present war, had so industriously fomented the discontents of the Creeks, and excited them to hostility. It is a happy consideration, that whilst these advantages were obtained, no material injury was done those vanquished people. Their country, extensive as it was, presented no inducements to the hunters, which could, as heretofore, be relied on with certainty; and, for all the purposes of agriculture, the part preserved to them was more than sufficient, for fifty times the population it contained. It may appear plausible in theory, but practice will always disprove the idea, that the civilization of Indians can be effected, whilst, scattered through an immense wilderness, they are left to pursue their wandering habits of life. Inured to their own manners, from the earliest period, it certainly would not answer to innovate at once upon their ancient customs; but, were their extensive wilds gradually reduced, so, in proportion, would the benefits resulting from hunting, and wandering through the forest, subside, until at last, necessity would prompt them to industry and agriculture, as the only certain and lasting means of support.

Unwilling to resort to any other mode of living, than that to which they had been always accustomed; and satisfied that their means of subsistence would be lost

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in the surrender of their country, they remained obstinately opposed to any arrangement. Before being finally acted upon, the treaty was fully debated in council, and the voice of the nation decided against it. Jackson had already submitted the views of his government, and now met them in council, to learn their determination. He was answered by the Big Warrior, a friendly chief, and one of their first orators, who declared the reluctance they felt, in yielding to the demand, from a conviction of the consequences involved, and the distresses it must inevitably bring upon them. The firm and dignified eloquence of this untutored orator, evinced a nerve and force of expression, that might not have passed unnoticed, before a more highly polished assembly: the conclusion of his speech is given, for the satisfaction of such as can mark the bold display of savage genius, and admire it when discovered. Having unfolded the causes that produced the war, and admitted that they had been preserved alone by the army which had hastened to their assistance; he urged, that although, in justice, it might be required of them, to defray the expenses incurred, by the transfer of a part of their country, yet the demand was premature, because the war party was not conquered: they had only fled away, and might yet return. He portrayed the habits of the Indians, and how seriously they would be affected by the required surrender; and thus concluded:

“The president, our father, advises us to honesty and fairness, and promises that justice shall be done: I hope and trust it will be! I made this war, which has proved so fatal to my country, that the treaty en-

Speech of  
the Big  
Warrior,  
in council

CHAP. VI. tered into, a long time ago, with father Washington, might not be broken. To his friendly arm I hold fast. I will never break that chain of friendship we made together, and which bound us to stand to the United States. He was a father to the Muscoga people; and not only to them, but to all the people beneath the sun. His talk I now hold in my hand. There sits the agent he sent among us. Never has he broken the treaty. He has lived with us a long time. He has seen our children born, who now have children. By his direction, cloth was wove, and clothes were made, and spread through our country; but the red sticks came, and destroyed all,—we have none now. Hard is our situation, and you ought to consider it. I state what all the nation knows: nothing will I keep secret.

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“There is the Little Warrior, whom colonel Hawkins knows. While we were giving satisfaction for the murders that had been committed, he proved a mischief-maker; he went to the British on the lakes; he came back, and brought a package to the frontiers, which increased the murders here. This conduct has already made the war party to suffer greatly: but, although almost destroyed, they will not yet open their eyes, but are still led away by the British at Pensacola. Not so with us: we were rational, and had our senses—we yet are so. In the war of the revolution, our father beyond the waters, encouraged us to join him, and we did so. We had no sense then. The promises he made were never kept. We were young and foolish, and fought with him. The British can no more persuade us to do wrong: they have de-

ceived us once, and can deceive us no more. You are two great people. If you go to war, we will have no concern in it; for we are not able to fight. We wish to be at peace with every nation. If they offer me arms, I will say to them, You put me in danger, to war against a people born in our own land. They shall never force us into danger. You shall never see that our chiefs are boys in council, who will be forced to do any thing. I talk thus, knowing that father Washington advised us never to interfere in wars. He told us that those in peace were the happiest people. He told us that if an enemy attacked him, he had warriors enough, and did not wish his red children to help him. If the British advise us to any thing, I will tell you,—not hide it from you. If they say we must fight, I will tell them, No!"

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The war party not being entirely subdued, was but a pretext to avoid the demand; presuming that if the council should break up, without any thing being definitely done, they might, in part, or perhaps altogether, avoid what was now required; but the inflexibility of the person with whom they were treating, evinced to them, that however just and well-founded might be their objections, the policy under which he acted was too clearly defined, for an abandonment of his demand to be at all calculated upon. Shelocta, one of their chiefs, who had united with our troops, at the commencement of the war; who had marched and fought with them in all their battles; and had attached to himself strongly the confidence of the commanding general, now addressed him. He told him of the regard he had ever felt for his white brothers, and with

CHAP. what zeal he had exerted himself to preserve peace,  
VI. and keep in friendship with them; when his efforts  
1814. had failed, he had taken up arms against his own country, and fought against his own people; that he was not opposed to yielding the lands lying on the Alabama, which would answer the purpose of cutting off any intercourse with the Spaniards; but the country west of the Coosa, he wished to be preserved to the nation. To effect this, he appealed to the feelings of Jackson; told him of the dangers they had passed together; and of his faithfulness to him, in the trying scenes through which they had gone.

There were, indeed, none whose voice ought sooner to have been heard than Shelocta's. None had rendered greater services, and none had been more faithful. He had claims, growing out of his fidelity, that few others had: but his wishes were so much at variance with what Jackson considered the interest of his country required, that he was answered without hesitation. "You know," said he, "that the part you desire to retain is that through which the intruders and mischief-makers from the lakes reached you, and urged your nation to those acts of violence, that have involved your people in wretchedness, and your country in ruin. Through it leads the path Tecumseh trod, when he came to visit you: that path must be stopped. Until this be done, your nation cannot expect happiness, nor mine security. I have already told you the reasons for demanding it: they are such as ought not,—cannot be departed from. This evening must determine whether or not you are disposed to become friendly. Your rejecting the treaty will show you to



be the enemies of the United States,—enemies even CHAP.  
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1814. to yourselves.” He admitted it to be true, that the war was not ended, but that this was an additional reason why the cession should be made; that then a line would be drawn, by which his soldiers would be able to distinguish and know their friends. “When our armies,” continued he, “came here, the hostile party had even stripped you of your country: we retook it, and now offer it to you;—theirs we propose to retain. Those who are disposed to give effect to the treaty, will sign it. They will be within our territory; will be protected and fed; and no enemy of theirs or ours shall molest them. Those who are opposed to it shall have leave to retire to Pensacola. Here is the paper: take it, and show the president who are his friends. Consult, and this evening let me know who will sign it, and who will not. I do not wish, nor will I attempt, to force any of you;—act as you think proper.”

They proceeded to deliberate and re-examine the course they should pursue, which terminated in their assent to the treaty, and the extension of those advantages that had been insisted on.\*

Treaty is  
concluded  
with  
the In-  
dians.  
Aug. 10.

\* It was agreed that the line should begin where the Cherokee southern boundary crossed the Coosa, to run down that river to Woe-tum-ka, or the Big Falls, and thence eastwardly to Georgia. East and north of this line, containing upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, remained to the Indians. West and south was secured to the United States. There are not many nations in the world, that would have acted with such justice and lenity towards a vanquished people. The country had been conquered and won, at con-

CHAP. VI. Every attention had been given, during the negotiation, to impress on the minds of the savages the

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siderable expense, and loss. Few governments, under such circumstances, would have done less than to have taken what best suited their convenience, without attempting to bargain at all upon the subject; more especially when it occupied a space of more than two hundred miles, through which the western people, seeking a market on the ocean, were under the necessity of passing, on their return home; and where, for the want of accommodation, numerous exposures and hardships were encountered. Scarcely, however, had the treaty been entered into, when every tribe in the neighbourhood, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, asserted their claims; each, to a part of the cession, which frittered it down to a mere nothing. The latter set up a title to the whole extent, lying along the Tennessee river, and succeeded in having it recognized by the government. The other two, gathering confidence from their success, came forward, and were no less fortunate. The United States, to remove every ground of complaint, opened a negotiation with these Indians, and purchased their interest at the price that was demanded. When it is considered that these claims were set up by inconsiderable clans, which might, at a word, have been hushed to silence, it affords the highest eulogy on the justice and magnanimity of our government, that, instead of attempting any exercise of its power, for the furtherance of its views, their complaints were heard, and peaceably quieted, by paying them the equivalent they required.

The liberality of the act is more apparent, when it is taken into consideration, that the claim of the Creek Indians was unquestionably the best. The coming of the other tribes to this section of country can be traced by Indian traditional history. "Some came from the west, beyond the great river Mississippi; others from the north;" but the same record knows nothing of the Creeks. So far back as it extends, they are known as the most numerous and warlike of the southern

necessity of their remaining in friendship; for, although all apprehensions of their acting in concert, as a nation, had subsided, yet it was important to leave their minds favourably impressed, lest the wandering fugitives, scattered in considerable numbers towards the Escambia and Pensacola, might, by continuing hostile, associate with them more of their countrymen,—attach themselves to the British, should they appear in the south, aid them by their numbers, and pilot them through the country.

This retreat of the savages, in East Florida, was

tribes, and are spoken of as coming out of the ground. Possession, with Indians, is the only evidence of title. Their country, always defined by natural objects, belongs to the next occupant, when once they have abandoned it. The tradition of their origin, reaching to a period long anterior to the time when other tribes settled on their borders, proves them to have been the first proprietors of the soil: the country was never abandoned by them: being the most warlike and powerful, it has never been wrested from them by conquest: the conclusion follows, that they must be still the owners, and that other tribes, as they allege, have acquired a residence only through their permission and indulgence. If power, this improvement on the principles of national law, and legitimate rule of modern times, had been made the appeal, between a government strong as the United States, and such considerable Indian hordes, there can be no question, as to the manner the difference might have been settled: yet the administration, rather than leave themselves open even to suspicion, preferred and obtained the title of these people, at an expense of at least three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Let other nations, if they can, produce an act of theirs, which, for justice and liberality, can be compared with this.

CHAP. always looked upon as a place, whence the United  
VI. States might apprehend serious difficulties to arise.

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There was no doubt but that the British, through this channel, with the aid of the governor, had protected the Indians, and supplied them with arms and ammunition ; nor was it less certain, but that, through their art and address, they had been excited to the outrages which had been heretofore committed. It was an idea entertained by Jackson, at the commencement of the Creek war, that the proper and best mode of procedure would be to push his army through the nation ; gain this den, where vegetated so many evils ; and, by holding it, effectually cut off their intercourse, and means of encouraging the war : but the unexpected difficulties which we have before noticed, had suppressed the execution of his well-digested plans, and left him to pursue his course as circumstances, and the obstacles met with, would permit. The assistance which, during the war, had been continually afforded these people, from Pensacola, induced him, once more, to turn his attention there ; and he now strongly urged on government the propriety of attacking and breaking down this strong hold, whence so many evils had already flowed, and whence greater ones were yet to be expected. His busy mind, actively engaged, while employed in settling all differences at Fort Jackson, was seeking, through every channel that could afford it, information as to the designs of the British against the southern parts of the Union. The idea had been prevalent, and was generally indulged, that, so soon as the severity of approaching winter should put a stop

to active operations on the Canada frontier, with all their disposable force, they would turn their attention against the southern states, and there attempt to gain some decisive advantage. New Orleans, with one consent, was fixed upon as the point that most probably would be assailed. The circumstance of there being so many there, who had never been thought to entertain any well-founded regard for the country in which they lived; together with a large black population, which it was feared might be excited to insurrection and massacre, were reasons which strongly led to this conclusion.

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General Jackson having understood, that that comfort and aid, which had been already so liberally extended, was still afforded by the Spanish governor to the hostile Indians, who had fled from the ravages of the Creek war, cherished the belief that his conduct was such as deservedly to exclude him from that protection to which, under other circumstances, he would be entitled, from the professed neutrality of Spain. At all events, if the improper acts of the Spanish agents would not authorize the American government openly to redress herself for the unprovoked injuries she had received, they were such, he believed, as would justify any course that had for its object the putting them down, and arresting their continuance. In this point of view he had already considered it, when, on his way to the Alabama, he received certain information, that about three hundred English troops had landed; were fortifying at the mouth of the Apalachicola; and were endeavouring to excite the Indians to war. No time was lost, in giving the government notice of what

Views  
against  
Pensacola

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was passing, and the course by him deemed most advisable to be pursued. The advantages to be secured by the possession of Pensacola, he had frequently urged. Whether it was that the government beheld things in a different point of view, or, being at peace with Spain, was willing to encounter partial inconveniences, rather than add her to the number of our enemies, no order to that effect was yet given. In detailing to the secretary of war what had been communicated to him, he remarks: "If the hostile Creeks have taken refuge in Florida, and are there fed, clothed, and protected; if the British have landed a large force, munitions of war, and are fortifying and stirring up the savages; will you only say to me, raise a few hundred militia, which can be quickly done, and with such regular force as can be conveniently collected, make a descent upon Pensacola, and reduce it? If so, I promise you, the war in the south shall have a speedy termination, and English influence be for ever destroyed with the savages in this quarter."

Notwithstanding this and other applications to the government, he was still unable to obtain an answer: nothing was returned, that could be construed into a permission of, or command to abstain from, the execution of his project. At length, on the 17th of January, 1815, after the British army had been repulsed at New Orleans, and the descent on East Florida almost forgotten, through the post office department, dated the 18th of July, 1814, he received the following letter from general Armstrong, the then secretary at war:

General  
Arm-  
strong's  
letter.

"The case you put is a very strong one: and if all the circumstances stated by you unite, the conclusion

is irresistible. It becomes our duty to carry our arms where we find our enemies. It is believed, and I am so directed by the president to say, that there is a disposition on the part of the Spanish government, not to break with the United States, nor to encourage any conduct on the part of her subordinate agents, having a tendency to such rupture. We must, therefore, in this case, be careful to ascertain facts, and even to distinguish what, on the part of the Spanish authorities, may be the effect of menace and compulsion, or of their choice and policy : the result of this inquiry, must govern. If they admit, feed, arm, and co-operate with the British and hostile Indians, we must strike on the broad principle of self-preservation :—under other and different circumstances, we must forbear.”

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That this state of things did actually exist ; that the British were favourably received, and every assistance necessary to a continuance of hostilities extended to the Indians, the government had been already apprized, by the frequent communications made to them on the subject. Had this letter reached him in time, it would have at once determined general Jackson on the course to be pursued, and on the execution of his design : how it was so long delayed we know not, nor shall we pretend to conjecture. We would, however, recommend in all cases, where a measure is to be proceeded in, either from necessity, or a well-founded apprehension of its propriety, that the government should adopt it without fear or trembling, or a regard to the consequences involved ; nor leave to be determined by the success or failure of the design, whether an officer acting upon his own responsibility, and

CHAP. for the good of his country, shall become the subject  
VI. of commendation or reproof.

1814. His first attention, on arriving at Fort Jackson, had been directed to a subject, which he believed to be of greater importance than making treaties ;—to establish some plan, by which he might be constantly advised, during his stay, of those schemes that were agitating in the south : believing that every passing event might be readily obtained through the Indians, who could go among the British, without in the least exciting suspicion : he had required colonel Hawkins to procure some who were confidential, and might be certainly relied on, to proceed to Deer island, and return as early as they could obtain correct information of the strength, views, and situation of the enemy. In about fifteen days they came back, confirming the statement, that a considerable English force had arrived, and was then in the bay of St. Rose ; that muskets and ammunition had been given to the Indians, and runners despatched to the different tribes, to invite them to the coast.

Satisfied that such permissions, by a neutral power, were too grievous to be borne, he addressed a letter to the governor of Pensacola, and assured him he had understood, that every protection and assistance was furnished the enemies of the United States, within his territory ; requested him to state whether or not the fact were so, and to surrender to him such of the chiefs of the hostile Indians, as were with him. “ I rely,” continued he, “ on the existing friendship of Spain, and that neutrality which she should observe, as authority for the demand I make.” The governor’s answer, which shortly afterwards was received, evinc-



ed nothing of that conciliatory temper which was looked for, and left no hope of procuring any other redress, than that which might be obtained through his fears. This, however, was a matter which required to be managed with great caution. Spain and the United States were at peace; to reduce any part of her territory, and take possession of it, in exclusion of her authority, might be construed such an aggression, as to induce her into the war. On the other hand, to suffer her, with open arms, to receive our enemies, and permit them to make every preparation within her ports, for invading and attacking our country, were outrages too monstrous to be borne, and should, in the opinion of Jackson, be remedied, let the consequences in prospective be what they might. Although these things had been earnestly pressed upon the consideration of the war department, no answer to his repeated solicitations on the subject, had been received. On his own responsibility, to advance in the execution of a measure, which involved so much, when his government was, and had for some time, been in possession of all the circumstances, was risking too much. Yet, were it delayed longer, every day might give Pensacola additional strength, and increase the danger attendant on its reduction. Undetermined, under considerations like these, he resolved upon another expedient,—to despatch a messenger, to lay open to the governor the ground of his complaint,—to obtain from him a declaration of his intention, as regarded the course he meant to adopt, and pursue,—and to ascertain whether he designed to make subsisting treaties between the two na-

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tions, the basis of his conduct, or to pursue a strange and concealed course, which, under the garb of pretended friendship, cloaked all the realities of war. The propriety of delivering up the hostile Indians, who were with him, to atone for the violation of existing treaties, and the rights of humanity, was again pressed and solicited.

A reply was not concluded on, by the governor, for some time; owing to a very considerable doubt that harassed his mind, whether it would not be more proper to return it without an answer, "in imitation of the conduct of general Flournoy, acting in conformity to the orders of Mr. Madison." But, having considered the matter, quite maturely and deliberately, he at length came to the conclusion, to wave the example set him by the president, and act in obedience to those "high and generous feelings, peculiar to the Spanish character."

Letter of  
governor  
Gonzalez  
Manre-  
quez.

In answer to the request, that the hostile Indians should be delivered up, he denies that they were with him, "at that time," or that he could, on the ground of hospitality, refuse them assistance, at a moment when their distresses were so great: nor could he surrender them, as he believed, without acting in open violation of the laws of nations,—laws, to which his sovereign had ever strictly adhered, and of which he had already afforded the United States abundant evidence, when he omitted to demand of them "the traitors, insurgents, incendiaries, and assassins of his chiefs, namely, Guitierrez, Toledo, and many others, whom the American government protected, and maintained

in committing hostilities, in fomenting the revolution, and in lighting up the flames of discord in the internal provinces of the kingdom of Mexico." CHAP. VI.

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To the inquiry, why the English had been suffered to land in his province arms and ammunition, with a view of encouraging the Indians to acts of hostility, he proceeded, with his same "national characteristic," and asked if the United States were ignorant, that at the conquest of Florida, there was a treaty between Great Britain and the Creek Indians, and whether they did not know, that it still existed between Spain and those tribes? "But," continued he, "turn your eyes to the island of Barrataria, and you will there perceive, that within the very territory of the United States, pirates are sheltered and protected, with the manifest design of committing hostilities by sea, upon the merchant vessels of Spain; and with such scandalous notoriety, that the cargoes of our vessels, taken by them, have been sold in Louisiana."

It is difficult to discover, by what system of logic it was, that governor Manriquez could trace any kind of analogy, between the United States affording to a few of the patriots of South America, an asylum from the chains, oppressions, and persecutions, that were threatened to be imposed on them by Spanish tyranny; and his permitting within his limits, comfort, aid, and assistance, to be given the savages, that they might be better enabled to indulge in cruelty towards us. Nor can it be perceived, how the piracies of Lafite and his party, at Barrataria, and the successful smuggling which brought their plunder into port, in open defiance of the law, could operate as a sufficient pretext

CHAP. for giving protection and indulgence, to an enemy enter-  
VI. ing his confines, and continuing there, with the  
1814. avowed intention of waging war against a power, with  
which Spain professed to be in friendship; and at the  
very time, too, she claimed to be neutral. Nor can  
we see the force of the argument, that because Eng-  
land had a treaty with the Creek Indians, which af-  
terwards devolved to Spain, the agents of his Catho-  
lic majesty were, in consequence, justified in protect-  
ing the savages in their murders, or assisting covert-  
ly, as they did, in the war against us: how the con-  
clusions were arrived at, we will leave with the gover-  
nor to decide, at some moment, when, relieved from  
those high and honourable feelings, "peculiar to the  
Spanish character," reason may re-assert her empire  
over him, and point the manner he was enabled to  
work out his strange results.

The governor, however, had taken his ground with-  
out suffering his reflections to go to the full extent.  
He had placed arms in the hands of the savages, "for  
the purposes of self-defence;" many of them were  
flocking down,—more were yet expected. The Bri-  
tish had already landed a partial force, and a greater  
one was shortly looked for. Against this certain and  
expected strength, added to what his own resources  
could supply, he believed an American general would  
not venture to advance. These considerations had led  
him to assume his lofty tone,—to arraign the conduct  
of the United States in extinguishing the Indian title  
on the Alabama,—in disregarding and violating their  
treaties, and to point out the danger to which the re-  
storation of peace in Europe might shortly expose

them. As yet he was ignorant of the energy of the man already near his borders, and who, to march against and break down his fancied security, did not desire to be ordered, but only to be apprized by his country that it might be done. Jackson determined again to address him, and to exhibit fully the grounds of accusation and complaint against him, in a style at least as courtly as his own.

CHAR:  
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"Were I clothed," he remarks, "with diplomatic powers, for the purpose of discussing the topics embraced in the wide range of injuries of which you complain, and which have long since been adjusted, I could easily demonstrate that the United States have been always faithful to their treaties, steadfast in their friendships, nor have ever claimed any thing that was not warranted by justice. They have endured many insults from the governors and other officers of Spain, which, if sanctioned by their sovereign, amounted to acts of war, without any previous declaration on the subject. They have excited the savages to war, and afforded them the means of waging it: the property of our citizens has been captured at sea, and if compensation has not been refused, it has at least been withheld. But as no such powers have been delegated to me, I shall not assume them, but leave them to the representatives of our respective governments,

Letter to  
the go-  
vernors of  
Pensaco-  
la.

"I have the honour of being entrusted with the command of this district. Charged with its protection, and the safety of its citizens, I feel my ability to discharge the task, and trust your excellency will always find me ready and willing to go forward, in the performance of that duty, whenever circumstances

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Jackson directly brought to the view of the government the information he had received, and again urged his favourite scheme, the reduction of Pensacola. "How long," he observed, "will the United States pocket the reproach and open insults of Spain? It is alone by a manly and dignified course, that we can secure respect from other nations, and peace to our own. Temporizing policy is not only a disgrace, but a curse to any nation. It is a fact, that a British captain of marines is, and has been for some time, engaged in drilling and organizing the fugitive Creeks, under the eye of the governor; endeavouring, by his influence and presents, to draw to his standard as well the peaceable as the hostile Indians. If permission had been given me to march against this place twenty days ago, I would, ere this, have planted there the *American Eagle*; now we must trust alone to our valour, and the justice of our cause. But my present resources are so limited,—a sickly climate, as well as an enemy to contend with, and without the means of transportation, to change the position of my army, that, resting on the bravery of my little phalanx, I can only hope for success."

Many difficulties were presented; and although anxious to carry into execution a purpose which seemed so strongly warranted by necessity, he was wholly without the power of moving, even should he be directed to do so. Acting in a remote corner, which was detached, and thinly inhabited, the credit of his government was inadequate to procure those things necessary and essential to his operations; while the poverty of his quarter master's department presented

but a dreary prospect for reliance. But to have all things in a state of readiness for action, when the time should come to authorize it, he was directing his attention in the way most likely to effect it. The warriors of the different tribes of Indians were ordered to be marshalled, and taken into the pay of the government. He addressed the governors of Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi territory, soliciting them to be vigilant in the discharge of their duties. Information, he said, had reached him, which rendered it necessary that all the forces allotted for the defence of the seventh military district, should be held in a state of perfect readiness, to march at any notice, and to any point they might be required. "Dark and heavy clouds," he continues, "hover around us. The energy and patriotism of the citizens of your states must dispel them. Our rights, our liberties, and free constitutions, are threatened. This noble patrimony of our fathers must be defended with the best blood of our country : to do this, you must carry into effect the requisition of the secretary of war, and call forth your troops, without delay."

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On the day after completing his business at Fort Jackson, he had departed for Mobile, to place the country in a proper state of defence. The third regiment, a part of the forty-fourth and thirty-ninth, were all the regular forces he could at this time command. Many reasons concurred, rendering it necessary that a sufficient force should be brought into the field, as early as possible. His appeals to the people of Tennessee had been generally crowned with success ; and he had no doubt but that he might yet obtain from

Sets out  
for Mo-  
bile.

CHAP. them assistance, to enable him to act defensively at  
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least, should any unexpected emergency arise, until the states already applied to, should have their quotas ready for the field. On the citizens of Louisiana and Mississippi he believed he might securely rely, and that their ardour would readily excite them, to contend with an enemy at their very doors. Well knowing the delay, incident to bringing militia requisitions expeditiously forth, and fearing that some circumstance might arise, to jeopardize the safety of the country, before the constituted authorities could act; he had already despatched his adjutant general, colonel Butler, to Tennessee, with orders to raise volunteers, and have them in readiness to march to his relief, whenever it should be required.

Every day's intelligence tended to confirm the belief that a descent would be made,—most probably on New Orleans. Anonymous letters were secretly forwarded from Pensacola, which found their way into the American camp. Many of the settlers were apprized, by their friends, of the fears they entertained for their safety, and entreated to retire from the gathering storm, which would soon burst, and entirely involve the lower country in wo and ruin. Where certainly to expect it, was unknown. The part bordering on Mobile might be assailed; yet, taking into consideration, that no very immediate advantages could be obtained there, it was an event not much to be apprehended. The necessity, however, of being prepared at all points, so far as the means of defence could be procured, was at once obvious; for, as the general, in one of his letters, remarked, "there was no telling where, or when, the spoiler might come."



There were now too many reasons to expect an early visit, and too many causes to apprehend danger, not to wish that an efficient force were at hand. Colonel Butler was written to, and ordered to hasten forward with the volunteers he could procure, and join him without delay. The order reached him at Nashville, on the 9th of September, and he engaged actively in its execution. He directly applied to general Coffee, to advance with the mounted troops he could collect. A general order was issued, bringing to view the dangers that threatened, and soliciting those who were disposed to aid in protecting their country from invasion, to rendezvous at Fayetteville, by the 28th instant. The appeal was not ineffectual : although the scene of their operations was at least five hundred miles from their homes, the call was promptly obeyed ; and two thousand able-bodied men, well supplied with rifles and muskets, appeared, at the appointed time, to march with the brave general Coffee, who had so often led his troops to victory and honour. Colonel Butler, with his usual activity and industry, hastened to meet and push on the militia, under the command of colonel Lowery, which had been heretofore required for garrisoning the posts in the Indian country ; whilst captains Baker and Butler, with the regular troops, lately enlisted, advanced to Mobile, where they arrived in fourteen days. By proper exertions, all things were presently in complete readiness ; and the troops, in high spirits, set out for the point to which danger and their country called them.

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Orders  
the troops  
from Ten-  
nessee to  
advance.

## CHAPTER VII.

Colonel Nicholls arrives at Pensacola, and issues a proclamation to the southern inhabitants.—Attack on Fort Bowyer, and loss of the *Hermes*.—Jackson determines to reduce Pensacola.—Demands of the governor an explanation of his conduct; his answer.—Enters, and takes possession of Pensacola.—Conduct and perfidy of the governor.—Destruction of Barrancas Fort.—Our troops return to Mobile.—Expedition against the Indians.—General Winchester arrives, and Jackson proceeds to New Orleans.

CHAP. VII. WHETHER a force were thus concentrating to act  
 1814. defensively against an invading enemy, or were intended to attack and break down their rallying point in the Spanish territory, whence they had it in their power to make sudden inroads on any part of our coast, as yet all was conjecture. It was a trait in Jackson's character, to lock closely in his bosom all his determinations; it was only to a few, on whom he reposed with unlimited confidence, that any intimation was given of his intentions. The idea could scarcely be entertained, that at this time any hostility was meditated against Pensacola. The frequent applications he had made to the war department, to be indulged in the execution of this purpose, without having obtained any directions or permission to do so, had placed a veto on the project, unless he should venture to assume and risk it on his own responsibility.

It was impossible that he should remain long in doubt, as to the course best calculated to assure defence, or as to the ulterior objects of the enemy. Colonel Nicholls, with a small squadron of his Britannic majesty's ships, arrived, the latter part of August, and took up his head quarters with governor Manriquez. He was an Irishman, sent in advance by his royal master, to sow dissensions among our people, and draw to his standard the malcontents and traitors of the country. His proclamation, issued to the western and southern inhabitants, full of well-turned periods, false statements, and high sounding promises, it was hoped would lead them to the belief, that their government was forging for them chains; that it had not to redress any injuries of its own, but through the mere dictum of the French emperor, declared war against a power, the freest, the happiest, the most moral and religious on earth. He stated, that he was at the head of a force amply sufficient to reinstate them in those liberties and enjoyments, of which they had been bereaved, by the designs of "a contemptible few." That those disposed to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen might not quietly rest, doubting of the assurances given, he concluded by tendering, as security for all he had said and promised, "the sacred honour of a British officer.\* Perhaps he could have vouchsafed nothing, that the American people would not have sooner relied on: it was a pledge in which past experience had told them they could not in safety confide. To them it was a matter of surprise,

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Colonel  
Nicholls  
arrives at  
Pensacola

\* See note A.

CHAP. that a people from whom they had learned all they  
 VII. had ever known or felt of oppression, should come  
 1814. to make them freer than they were; or that, groan-  
 ing themselves under a load of taxes, from which  
 there was scarcely a hope of being ever relieved,  
 they should come, with such apparent compassion, and  
 great benevolence, to take away the burdens of those  
 whom they despised, and on whom, for forty years,  
 they had heaped nothing but contumely and reproach.  
 Where it was this agent of Britain learned, that the  
 citizens of the United States complained of burdens,  
 heavily and unjustly imposed, we know not; satisfied,  
 however, are we, that it was a murmur never breathed  
 by the people at large. They had encountered pri-  
 vations, and borne the "brunt of war;" yet felt no  
 solicitude that it should cease, until the assailed ho-  
 nour and independence of their country were secured  
 on a basis, firmer than before.

Septem. He had waited about two weeks, that his proclama-  
 tion might take effectual hold, and prepare the inhabi-  
 tants to open their bosoms to receive him, when this  
 delivering hero, aided by his Indian and Spanish al-  
 lies, set out, to ascertain the effect it had wrought.  
 His first visit was to Fort Bowyer, situated on the ex-  
 treme end of a narrow neck of land, about eighteen  
 miles below the head of Mobile bay, and which com-  
 mands the entrance. With the loss of one of his  
 ships, and an eye, he had the mortification to learn,  
 that he had been addressing an incorrigible race, who  
 could be neither duped, flattered, nor flogged into  
 submission.

Fort Bowyer had been heretofore abandoned ; and until the arrival of general Jackson in this section of the country, was ill calculated for serious resistance. On perceiving its importance, he immediately directed it to be placed in the best possible state of defence. So effectual was its situation, in a military point of view, as commanding the passes of those rivers which discharge themselves into the bay, that it was with him a matter of surprise it had not been more regarded, and better attended to.

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1814.

Major Lawrence had the honour to command this spot, the gallant defence of which has given it celebrity, and raised him to an elevated stand in the estimation of his country. That in Pensacola plans of operation were digesting, which had for their object an invasion some where, was a fact to which Lawrence was not a stranger. A disposition to have his little fortress in such a state of readiness, as would place it in his power, should it be their object, to make a brave defence, had prompted him to the most vigorous exertions. His whole strength was but one hundred and thirty men. By this Spartan band was evinced a confidence in each other, and an unshaken resolution, which left their brave commander no room to apprehend dishonour to his flag, even should defeat result.

The 12th of September determined all doubt, as to the object the British had in view. The sentinels brought intelligence, that a considerable force, in Indians, marines, and Spaniards, had landed ; and, the same day, two brigs and sloops hove in sight, and anchored not far distant.

CHAP. VII. The next day, some disposition was manifested by those who had been landed, to bring on the attack ; but a fire from the fort forced them from their position, and compelled them to retire about two miles ; whence, attempting to throw up fortifications, they were again made to retreat.

1814.

Attack on  
Fort Bow-  
yer.

Until the 15th, nothing definitive took place. Early on that day, the signals passing from the ships to the shore, led Lawrence to believe an assault was intended, and would shortly be made. At half after four o'clock in the evening, every thing being arranged, the *Hermes* in the van, commanded by sir W. H. Percy, and the others close in the rear, anchored within musket shot fire of the fort. From her near position, supported by the *Caron*, and brigs *Sophia* and *Anaconda*, mounting, in all, ninety guns, she opened her broadside. Colonel Nicholls and captain Woodbine, at the head of their detachment, commenced a simultaneous attack by land, with a twelve pound howitzer, at point blank distance ; but, from their sand bank fortifications they were too quickly driven, to be enabled to produce the slightest injury ; whilst their courage was wholly inadequate to carry it by storm.

The action now raged with considerable violence. From the fort and ships was pouring a continual fire. The *Hermes*, having at length received a shot through her cable, was driven from her anchorage, and floated with the stream. In this situation, she was thrown into a position, where, for twenty minutes, she received a severe raking fire, which did her considerable damage. In her disabled condition, it was no longer

possible to control her, whence, drifting with the current, she ran upon a sand bank, about seven hundred yards distant, where, until late at night, she remained exposed to the guns from the fort. Her commander, finding it impracticable to get her off, set her on fire, and abandoned her. She continued burning, until eleven o'clock, when she blew up. The Caron, next in advance to the *Hermes*, was considerably injured, and with difficulty got out to sea.

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It is worthy of remark, to show the difference in battle, between the two nations, to mark the conduct of British and American officers, under circumstances precisely similar. Whilst the battle raged, the flag of the van ship was carried away, and at this moment she had ceased to fire. What had caused its disappearance, none could tell: no other opinion was, or could with propriety be indulged, than that it had been hauled down, with a view to yield the contest, and surrender. Influenced by this belief, Lawrence, with that generosity characteristic of American officers, immediately desisted from further firing. The appearance of a new flag, and a broadside from the ship next the *Hermes*, was the first intelligence received, that such was not the fact; and the contest again raged with renewed violence. It was but a few minutes, however, before the flag staff of the fort was also carried away: but so far from pursuing the same generous course that had just been witnessed, the zeal of the enemy was increased, and the assault more furiously urged. At this moment, Nicholls and Woodbine, at the head of their embattled train, perceiving what had happened, that our "star-spangled banner" had sunk,

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at once presuming all danger had subsided, made a most courageous sally from their strong hold ; and, pushing towards their vanquished foes, were already calculating on a rich harvest of blood and plunder : but a well-directed fire checked their progress, dissipated their expectations, and drove them back, with a rapidity, even surpassing the celerity of their advance.

Taking into consideration the inequality of force employed on the opposite sides of this contest, it will appear a matter of surprise, that the attack should have terminated in the way it did ;—that it was not attended with success. This circumstance would be a sufficient evidence of the bravery and correct conduct of its gallant defenders, were there a total absence of all other facts ; but their belief, that the best way to avoid disaster was to be in a state of readiness to meet it, and a constant assiduity, which urged them forward, day and night, that they might be in a situation calculated for successful defence, are facts remembered, and entitle them to the highest commendation. From the bay, the attack was waged with a force of six hundred men, and ninety guns, of larger caliber than any opposed to them ; whilst upwards of four hundred Indians and other troops were on the shore, in rear of the fort. Lawrence's strength was scarcely a tenth of the enemy's. His fort, hastily prepared, with not more than twenty guns, was ill calculated for stubborn resistance ; most of these were of small caliber, whilst many, from being badly mounted, rendered no essential service in the action : yet, with this great inequality, he well maintained the honour of his flag, and compelled the enemy, resting in full confidence of success, to retire,




with the loss of his best ship, and two hundred and thirty men killed and wounded ; whilst the loss sustained by the Americans did not exceed ten.

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Very different were the feelings of the leaders of this expedition, from what they had been on setting out from Pensacola, where every thing had been prepared for giving success to their plans, and where scarcely a doubt had been entertained of the result. Numerous advantages were expected to arise from a victory, not in expectancy, but already looked to as certain ;—as an event that could not fail. From it, greater facility would be given to their operations ; while Mobile would fall, of course. This being effected, independent of the strong hold already possessed in East Florida, an additional one would be acquired, calculated to prevent all intercourse with New Orleans, from this section of the country, to enable them more easily to procure supplies, and, having obtained their expected reinforcements, to proceed across to the Mississippi, and cut off all communication with the western states. To render the blow effectual was important ; that, by impressing at once the inhabitants with an idea of their strength and prowess, the proclamations already disseminated might claim a stronger influence on doubting minds. The force employed, and its disposition, was calculated to attain these wished for events. While the attack should be furiously waged by the ships from the bay, that the yells of three or four hundred savages in the rear should strike the defenders of this fort with such a panic, as to make them, at the first onset, throw down their arms, and clamour for mercy, was a belief so

CHAP. sanguinely indulged, that obstinate resistance had never been thought of. Different was the reality,—instead of triumph, they had met defeat. The only  
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1814. badges of victory they could present the friends, with whom, but a few days before, with flattering promises they had parted, were shattered hulks, that could scarcely keep above the water, and decks covered with dead and wounded.

The three vessels that retired were considerably injured, and with difficulty got to sea, leaving Nicholls and Woodbine, with their friends and allies, on the shore, to make good their retreat, as danger and discretion would permit.

On the morning of the 14th, Jackson, fearing, from every thing he had learned, that an attack would be made, had set out, in a boat, from Mobile, to visit Fort Bowyer, examine its situation, and have such arrangements made, as should add to its strength, and obtain that security, which its re-establishment had been designed to effect. He had proceeded down the bay, and arrived within a few miles, when he met an express from Lawrence, bringing intelligence of the enemy's arrival, and requesting that assistance might be immediately sent to his relief. The general hastened back, and reaching Mobile late at night, despatched a brig, with eighty men, under the command of captain Laval. Not being able to reach his point of destination until the next day, and finding every place of entrance blocked up by the besiegers, he ran his brig to the land, determined to wait until night, when, under cover of its darkness, he hoped to succeed in throwing himself into the fort. The battle,

however, having in the mean time commenced, presented new difficulties, and restrained the execution of his purpose, without encountering greater hazard than prudence seemed to sanction. The *Hermes*, on being driven from her anchorage, had, at the time of her explosion, floated and grounded in a direction that left her immediately in the rear of the fort, from the position occupied by the brig. This circumstance well accounted for the mistake with which he was impressed, and led captain Laval to believe his brave countrymen had all perished. Believing they would now attempt to carry his vessel, he set sail for Mobile, and reported to the commanding general the destruction and loss that had happened. Jackson declared it was impossible; that he had heard the explosion, and was convinced it was on the water, and not on the shore. Perhaps his great anxiety, more than any reality, had constituted this essential difference in sound. If, however, it were as reported, his own situation being thereby rendered precarious, something was to be done, to regain a place, for many reasons too important to be yielded. His principal fears were, lest the strength of the enemy should be greatly increased, before his expected reinforcements should arrive, who would be thereby enabled to extend his inroads, and paralyze the zeal of the country. It was no time for much deliberation on the course most advisable to be pursued. He determined to retake the fort, at all hazards; and a general order was issued, for the departure of the troops. Every thing was nearly in readiness, when a despatch arrived from Lawrence, bear-

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CHAP. ing the pleasing intelligence that all was safe, and that  
 VII. the enemy, beaten and vanquished, had retired.

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The conduct displayed by the officers and soldiers of this garrison is worthy to be remembered. With troops wholly undisciplined, and against an enemy ten times more numerous than themselves, so coolly and fearlessly contending, that we cannot wish our country better, than that the future defenders of her honour, and violated rights, may be as sensibly alive to their duty, and act with a like determined bravery.

British  
 vessels re-  
 tire to  
 Pensacola.

The British had now retired to Pensacola, to dispose of their wounded, refit their vessels, and be ready, as soon as circumstances would permit, to make, perhaps, another descent, on some less guarded point. So long as this, their only place of refuge and retreat on the southern coast, was left in their possession, it was impossible to calculate on the consequences that might arise. The commanding general was well convinced that this was merely a feint, and that the object of their wishes and designs, so soon as a sufficient force should arrive, would be New Orleans. At this place, he believed his presence material, to ascertain and guard the most important passes to the city, and concert some system of general defence. His feelings, however, would not permit him to depart, and leave the settlements and Mobile open to an attack, from forces immediately in the neighbourhood, which might reduce them, and thereby gain a position whence they might obtain supplies, and be placed nearer the ultimate point, against which, most probably, their views were directed. His regret was indeed great, that, time

after time, without the least success, he had urged and entreated his government, for permission to take possession of a place where so many dangers threatened, and where every assistance and encouragement was afforded the British; and that regret was increased, now, when he saw the very evils engendering and springing into existence, to which he had so often endeavoured to draw their attention, and which were jeopardizing the safety of the whole lower country. To him the defence of this district had been entrusted: it was incumbent on him to render a just account of his stewardship, and zealously to support his well-earned reputation. Unless Pensacola were reduced, it was vain to think of defending the country: it would be involved in ruin,—himself in disgrace. Anxiously concerned for the general good, he saw no channel through which safety could be effected, but by hazarding, on his own responsibility, the reduction of this place.

Jackson and his government had ever viewed this subject in very different lights: they were not willing to risk a contest with Spain, for the sake of removing what they considered an inconsiderable injury: he thought it of more serious import, and did not believe it could afford even a pretext for rupture between the two nations. If Spain, through her agents, permitted and encouraged a power with whom she was at peace to be thus harassed and annoyed, she deserved to be placed on the list of enemies, and treated accordingly. If, however, Great Britain, taking advantage of the defenceless state of her province, claimed free egress, in exclusion of her authority, she could have no well-

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Jackson's  
determi-  
nation,  
and rea-  
sons, for  
proceed-  
ing  
against  
Pensacola

CHAP. founded cause of complaint against the injured power,  
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sufficient force, she might be in a situation to support her neutrality, and enforce obedience to her laws. Upon either ground, he believed it might be sufficiently justified. There was one, however, on which it could be placed, where he well knew nothing could result, beyond his own injury ; and on this issue he was willing to trust it. If any complaint should be made, his government, having never extended to him an authority, might, with propriety, disavow the act ; and, by exposing him to censure and punishment, it would be an atonement for the outrage, and Spain, in justice, could demand no more. The attack on Mobile point was a confirmation of his previous conjectures, as to the views of the enemy ; and, from that moment, he determined to advance against and reduce Pensacola, throw a sufficient force in the Barrancas, hold them until the principles of right and neutrality were better respected, and rest the measure on his own responsibility. Believing this the only course that could assure ultimate security, he decided with firmness, and resolved to execute his intentions, so soon as general Coffee should arrive, with the volunteers, from Tennessee.

It was now rumoured, and generally accredited, that a very considerable force, under the command of lord Hill, would shortly sail from England, destined to act against some part of the United States ; where, none knew, or could tell ; rumour, and public opinion, fixed upon New Orleans. The importance of this place was well known to our enemy ; it was the key to the

whole commerce of the western country. Had a de-  
scent been made on it a few months before, it might  
have been taken with all imaginable ease; but the  
British had confidently indulged the belief, that they  
could possess it, at any time, without much diffi-  
culty. England and France having ended their long-  
pending controversy, it was thought that the French  
people of Louisiana, sensibly alive to the great be-  
nefits the English had conferred upon their native  
country,—benefits that have prostrated her liberty, and  
sunk her, perhaps, in eternal slavery, would, on their  
first appearance, hail their deliverers, and at once be-  
come their vassals. Independent of this, they saw, in  
the black population, the means of exciting insurrec-  
tion and massacre, and deluging the country in blood.  
Whether this kind of warfare, which involves the deep-  
est wretchedness, and equally exposes to ruin, the in-  
nocent as the guilty,—the female as the soldier, should  
be pursued by a nation professing a high sense of mor-  
al feeling; or whether a nation that adopts such a  
system, can be entitled to the appellation of honour-  
able, are questions on which we should not fear even  
the decision of an Englishman, could he but divest  
himself of that animosity and hatred, which, from infan-  
cy, he entertains for the Americans. To this, and many  
other acts, equally in violation of the rules that should  
govern honourable warfare, may be traced the cause  
of those deep-rooted inveteracies, in the breasts of our  
citizens, towards those of England, which time, and a  
different course of conduct, can alone remove. Why  
such hostility has been practised towards us, it is dif-

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CHAP. VII. difficult to determine ; unless the crime of the revolution,

1814. if it were one, to rise in opposition to the oppression and despotism, under which we then groaned, has disposed them to visit the sins of the father upon the child, with a determination they shall never be forgiven or forgotten. Certain is it, that the United States have received more, and greater insults and injuries, from this power, than from all the other nations of the earth together ; the hoary locks of a father, torn off by the merciless Indian,—the innocent, helpless female, bleeding by savage torture,—and the unoffending babe, dragged from the beating bosom of its mother, and butchered in her sight, are cruelties that can be traced to British influence : yet these people and ourselves are descended from the same fathers—speak the same language—are governed by the same laws—and are similar in manners and customs. But to inquire into the causes of national feeling, belongs not to the historian ; it is his duty only to detail facts. The war is over ; peace is restored ; and the two nations, and their citizens, by a mutual respect, and forbearance towards each other, should endeavour to promote that friendship and intercourse, which it is evidently the interest of both to preserve, and which, we hope, will be lasting.

The expected reinforcements were now announced. General Coffee, with his brigade, had arrived, and halted at the cut off, above Fort St. Stephens. In addition to the force with which he had commenced his march, he was strengthened by the arrival of others, who had followed, and overtaken him at this place ; so

Arrival of  
general  
Coffee's  
brigade.



that his whole number was now about twenty-eight hundred. To make the necessary arrangements for an immediate march, general Jackson, on the 26th day of October, repaired to general Coffee's camp.

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The difficulty of subsisting cavalry on the route, rendered it necessary that part of this brigade should proceed on foot. Although they had volunteered in the service as mounted men, and had not expected any different disposition to be made of them, yet they cheerfully acquiesced in the order: and one thousand, abandoning their horses to subsist as they could, on the reeds that grew along the river bottoms, prepared to commence the march on foot. Being supplied with rations for the trip, on the 2d day of November the line of march was taken up: and Pensacola was reached on the 6th. The British and Spaniards had obtained intelligence of their approach, and intended attack; and every thing was in readiness to dispute their passage. The forts were garrisoned, and prepared for resistance; batteries were formed in the principal streets; and the British vessels were moored within the bay, and so disposed as to command the main entrance to the town.

The American army, consisting of the greater part of Coffee's brigade, the regulars, and some few Indians, in all about three thousand, had arrived within a mile and a half of this rallying point for our enemies, and formed their encampment. Before any final step was taken, the general concluded to make a further application to the governor, and learn what course he would make it necessary for him to pursue. To take possession, and dislodge the British, was indispensable:

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to do it under such circumstances, as should impress the minds of the Spaniards with a conviction, that the invasion of their territory was a measure adopted from necessity, and not choice, or a disposition to infringe, or violate, their neutral rights, was believed to be essential. It was rendered the more so, on the part of Jackson, because a measure of his own, and not sanctioned or directed by his government. Previously, therefore, to any act of open war, he determined to try the effect of negotiation, that he might ascertain, certainly and correctly, how far the governor felt disposed to preserve a good understanding between the two governments.

Major Piere, of the forty-fourth regiment, was accordingly despatched, with a flag, to disclose the objects intended to be attained by the visit, and to require that the different forts, Barrancas, St. Rose, and St. Michael, should be immediately surrendered, to be garrisoned and held by the United States, until Spain, by furnishing a sufficient force, could protect the province, and preserve unimpaired her neutral character. He was charged by the general with a candid and explicit statement of his views, and instructed to require of the governor a decisive and positive declaration of the course he intended to adopt.

Explanation of the conduct of the governor. Manriquez required.

This mission experienced no very favourable result. Major Piere, on approaching St. Michael's, was fired on, and compelled to return. Whether this were done by the Spaniards themselves, or by their allies and friends, who were sojourning with them, was not material. The Spanish flag was displayed on the fort, and under it the outrage was committed: though it

was a fact well ascertained, that, until the day before, the British flag had been also associated : this, on the arrival of Jackson, had been removed, and the colours of Spain left, which were to afford protection to our enemies, and a pretext for every injury. This conduct, so unexpected and unprovoked, and withal, so directly in opposition to the principles and practice of civilized warfare, might have well determined the general to abstain from further forbearance, and proceed immediately to the accomplishment of his views : but a consciousness, that although the reduction of this place was required by circumstances of the highest necessity, yet, lest it might be blazoned around to his prejudice, and become a cause of national difficulty, he was prompted to act with every possible deliberation and caution. A sense of humanity, too, towards those people, who, he was satisfied, were acting not from any choice or discretion of their own, but by the authority of the British, induced a wish for the objects of his visit to be effected, without injury to them. Determining, therefore, to understand the governor fully, previously to proceeding to extremities, he again despatched a letter to him, not by any of his officers, for after such perfidy he was unwilling, and felt it unsafe, to risk them ; but by a Spanish corporal, who had been taken, on the route, the day before. By him, he required to know why his former application, instead of being met with a becoming spirit of conciliation, had been insulted. In answer, he received from the governor a confirmation of the opinion previously entertained, that what had been done was not chargeable to him, but the English ;

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CHAP. that he had no agency in the transaction of which he  
VII. complained, and assured him of his perfect willingness  
to receive any overtures he might be pleased to make.

1814. This was joyful tidings; and no time was to be lost, in meeting the offer. If negotiation should place in his hands the different fortresses, before information of it was had by the British shipping, lying in the bay, the outward channel would be effectually stopped, and the means of their escape entirely cut off. Major Piere was accordingly sent off, at a late hour of the night, to detail to the governor the reasons which had rendered the present descent proper; and to insist on the conditions already noticed, as alone calculated to assure safety to the United States, and give protection to the province of East Florida. He was particularly instructed to impress on his consideration, that a re-surrender would be made, so soon as Spain, by the arrival of a sufficient force, could protect her territory from the inroads of a power, at war with the United States; and which, through an opening thus afforded, was enabled, and had already done her considerable injury. In his communication to the governor, he remarks, "I come not as the enemy of Spain; not to make war, but to ask for peace; to demand security for my country, and that respect to which she is entitled, and shall receive. My force is sufficient, and my determination taken, to prevent a future repetition of the injuries she has received. I demand, therefore, the possession of the Barrancas, and other fortifications, with all your munitions of war. If delivered peaceably, the whole shall be receipted for, and become the subject of future arrangement, by our

respective governments ; while the property, laws, and religion of your citizens will be respected. But if taken by an appeal to arms, let the blood of your subjects be upon your own head. I will not hold myself responsible for the conduct of my enraged soldiers. One hour is given you for deliberation, when your determination must be had."

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The council was called, the propositions considered, and the conclusion taken, that they could not be acceded to. As soon as the answer was received, showing that nothing peaceably could be done, Jackson resolved to push his army forward ; and, immediately commencing his march, proceeded to the accomplishment of his object, determined to effect it, in despite of danger, and the consequences.

Early on the morning of the 7th, the army was in motion. To foster the idea, that he would march and reach the town along the road, on which he was encamped, a detachment of five hundred men was sent forward, with orders to show themselves in this direction, and amuse and deceive the enemy ; while, urging rapidly on, with the strength of his army, he was gaining it at a different and unexpected point. This stratagem succeeded : the British, looking for his appearance where the detachment was seen, had formed their vessels across the bay, and were waiting his approach, with their guns properly bearing : nor had they an intimation to the contrary, until our troops were descried upon the beach, on the east side, where they were at too great a distance to be annoyed from the flotilla ; and whence, pushing forward, they were presently in the streets, and covered by the houses.

Our army  
enters,  
and takes  
possession  
of  
Pensacola

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One company, from the third regiment of infantry, with two field pieces, formed the advance, led by the brave captain Laval, who fell, severely wounded, while, at the head of his command, he was charging a Spanish battery, formed in the street. The left column, composed of the regular troops, the third, thirty-ninth, and forty-fourth regiments, headed by majors Woodruff and Piere, formed the left, next the bay. The dismounted volunteers proceeded down the street, next the regulars: Coffee's brigade next, on their right: the Mississippi dragoons, commanded by colonel Hinds, and the Choctaw Indians by major Blue, of the thirty-ninth, advanced on the extreme right of all. Captain Laval's party, although deprived of their leader, moved forward, and, at the point of the bayonet, took possession of the battery in their front. So quickly was this effected, that the Spaniards had it in their power to make but three fires, before they were forced to abandon it. From behind the houses and garden fences, were discharging constant volleys of musketry, until the regulars arriving, met the Spaniards, and drove them from their positions. The governor, panic struck, trembling for the safety of his city, and remembering the declaration of the general, that he should not attempt to restrain the irritation of his soldiers, hastened, bearing a flag in his hand, to find the commander, and seek to stay the carnage. He was met by colonels Williamson and Smith, at the head of the dismounted troops, when, with faltering speech, he entreated that mercy might be extended, and promised to consent to whatever might be demanded.

General Jackson had stopped for a moment, where Laval had fallen, and was at this time in the rear. Receiving information that an offer had been made to comply with all the demands he had made, he hastened to the intendant house, and obtained a confirmation of what he had been previously assured, that the town, arsenals, and munitions of war, should be immediately surrendered.

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The British vessels in the bay, with the aid of their boats, by which they obtained a more commanding situation, continued to fire upon our troops, as, passing along the principal streets and avenues, they could get them in the range of their guns. Lieutenant M'Call, perceiving some of their boats attempting to take a nearer position, advanced to the beach, with two pieces of heavy cannon, where, open, exposed, and uncovered, he commenced a brisk and well-aimed fire, which drove them back to a more respectful distance.

No time was lost, in procuring what was considered of vital importance,—the surrender of the forts. Although greater benefits would have been derived, had the success of negotiation placed them privately in his hands, without its being known to his enemies, yet even now they were not to be neglected. Their possession was necessary still to his own security,—to check any design that might be in agitation. What was the force opposed to him ; at what moment reinforcements might appear off Pensacola, and thereby give an entire change to things, as they at present existed, were matters of which no certain idea could be formed. To possess the Barrancas, which lay fourteen miles to the west, was a consideration of the

CHAP. first importance ; still, until the town and its fortresses  
 VII. were secured, it was improper to withdraw to so great  
 1814. a distance.

Notwithstanding the assurances given, that all differences would be accommodated, and every thing insisted on agreed to, Fort St. Michael was still withheld. Captain Dankins was ordered to take post on Mount St. Bernard, form his batteries, and reduce it. He was in a situation to act, when the commandant, colonel Sotto, ordered his flag taken down, and the fort to be surrendered.

It is curious to observe the treachery of the Spaniards, and the unpardonable method they took, to indulge their rancour and spleen. Previously to striking his colours, the commandant had asked permission to fire his guns ; to this there could be no objection, and the indulgence was extended ; but, faithless and cowardly, he levelled and fired his pieces, charged with grape, at a party of dragoons and Choctaw Indians, who were at a small distance, which killed three horses, and wounded two men. Such unpardonable conduct, independent of other wrongs and injuries, already noticed, might have justified any treatment ; the destruction of the garrison would not have been an unmerited chastisement. The general was on his way to Mount St. Bernard, where his artillery was planted, when he received intelligence of what had been done. He determined no longer to confide in persons, whose only object seemed to deceive, but to make the sword the arbiter between them. His cannon were already turned towards the fort, and the resolution taken to batter it down, when it was announced by major Piere that

Conduct  
 and perfidy of the  
 Spaniards.



the capitulation had been agreed on, and a surrender would be made in half an hour. He again forbore to obey that impulse their unwarrantable conduct had so justly excited, and despatched captain Dankins, to insist on an immediate delivery ; with directions to carry it by storm, if the demand were not instantly complied with.

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Difficulties promised thus peaceably to terminate. The day being far spent, and the general greatly indisposed, no step could be taken to obtain possession of the Barrancas, until the next morning. On the credit of the governor's promises, made first on their entrance into the town, the principal part of the army had been ordered a short distance out. Understanding, at St. Bernard, that what had been required would be done, and that no further delay would be met, the general had set out to the encampment, leaving major Piere behind, with a sufficient force to preserve the town in safety and quietness. He was astonished, early in the morning, to learn that captain Dankins, on reaching St. Michael, the preceding evening, had been threatened to be fired on by colonel Sotto : possession, however, had been yielded, on being made to understand, that if the fort were not delivered instantly, and without further parley, it would be carried forcibly, and the garrison put to the sword. A capitulation was signed : Pensacola, and the different fortresses, were to be retained, until Spain could better maintain her authority ; while the rights and privileges of her citizens were to be respected.

Every thing was in readiness, on the following day, to march, and take possession of Barrancas fort. The

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Fort Bar-  
rancas is  
blown up  
by the  
British.

faithless conduct of yesterday had determined Jackson on the execution of his plans; nor longer to confide in Spaniards' promises. Major Piere was ordered to give the command of the city to colonel Hayne, and report himself at camp, to accompany him on the march; but previously to retiring, to require the governor to execute an authority to the commandant of the fort, to deliver it; and, in the event he would not comply, immediately to arrest him, and every public officer, and hold them as prisoners. The order for its delivery had been signed, and the line of march ready to be taken up, to advance and receive it,—peaceably, if the order would effect it—forcibly, if not; when a tremendous explosion, in that direction, followed by two others, in quick succession, excited the apprehension that all was destroyed. To ascertain, certainly, whence the noise had proceeded, major Gales, a volunteer aid, was despatched, with two hundred men, to reconnoitre and obtain intelligence. He presently returned, and confirmed what had been previously apprehended, that the fort was blown up, and the British shipping retired from the bay.

Although the repairing this place might be productive of numerous advantages, as keeping the enemy, during the expected descent on the lower country, from having in their possession a point where they might prepare their expeditions, and where, in despite of every vigilance that could be used, they might obtain ample supplies; yet, inasmuch as the act was unauthorized by his government, Jackson felt himself restrained from incurring any expense, for the re-establishment, of what had been thus treacherously

destroyed. Though disappointed in the object he had principally in view, he nevertheless believed that some of the benefits intended and expected would result. This strong hold, which had so long given protection to the southern hostile savages, and where they had been excited to acts of war and cruelty, was assailed, and the Indians taught that even here, safety was not to be found. The valour and good conduct of his troops had impressed on the minds of the Spaniards a respect for the character of his country, which hitherto they had not entertained; and the British, by being dislodged, were prevented from maturing and settling those plans, which were to give efficacy to their future operations against the southern section of the Union: but as the means of maintaining and defending it were destroyed, it was unnecessary to think of garrisoning, and attempting to hold it. It was accordingly concluded to re-deliver all that had been surrendered, and retire to Fort Montgomery. He was the more disposed to do so, believing the British, who had sailed out of the bay, would again make their way to Fort Bowyer, and, with a knowledge of the principal strength of the army being away, seek to aim a blow somewhere on the Mobile. An express was immediately hastened to colonel Sparks, who had been left in command at this place, announcing what had transpired, suggesting apprehensions for his safety, and notifying him, in the event of an attack, to endeavour to parry the danger, until the regular troops should arrive, to support him, who would be urged forward with every industry.

Two days after entering the town, he abandoned it. Previously to retiring, he wrote to governor Manre-

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Town and  
fortresses  
are sur-  
rendered,  
and our  
army re-  
tires.

quez ; and, after stating to him the causes which had induced him, justifiably, as he believed, to enter his territory, he thus concluded : " As the Barrancas, and the adjacent fortresses have been surrendered to, and blown up, by the British, contrary to the good faith I had reposed in your promises, it is out of my power to protect and guard your neutrality, as otherwise I should have done. The enemy has retreated ; the hostile Creeks have fled for safety to the forest ; and I now retire from your town, leaving you to re-occupy your forts, and protect the rights of your citizens."

Much is due, not only to the calmness and intrepidity of conduct displayed by the troops, in their advance on the town, against the batteries, that were formed in the streets, the fort, and the fleet lying in the bay ; but much more for their orderly, open, and generous conduct towards a people who had wholly outraged every principle of correct conduct ; and who, even at the moment when the sword was made the appeal, and the blow they merited only stayed by humanity, were still pursuing a course of faithlessness and treachery, and clearly evincing a disposition to aid and assist our enemies : yet, under such circumstances, which certainly would have warranted a less lenient course towards them, not a single irregularity was committed, or the rights of individuals at all molested. So exemplary was the deportment of our officers, and the conduct of our soldiers, as to extort the Spaniards' praise, and even to induce the declaration that our Indians behaved with more decency and propriety than their friends, with whom they had just parted. When we remember, what is undeniably the fact, that the

British had been always well received by the inhabitants of East Florida, who had rendered them every assistance and protection in their power; and who, from their disposition to aid them, had even brought difficulties upon themselves; ingratitude and injustice may be well charged upon them, when it is recollected that these friends, who had been so well regarded, on retreating from Pensacola, carried off three or four hundred slaves, not their own, in despite of the remonstrances and repeated demands of the owners to have them restored.

CHAP.  
VII.  
1814.

Our loss, in this expedition, was truly inconsiderable. The left column alone met resistance, and had fifteen or twenty wounded—none killed. It appears, indeed, strange, that three heavy pieces of artillery, charged with grape and canister, and three times fired against a column, advancing through a narrow street, should not have effected more. Of the number wounded, was lieutenant Flournoy, a promising young man, who, having gone out as a volunteer, was, on account of his merit, promoted to a lieutenancy in the forty-fourth United States' regiment. By a cannon shot, he lost his leg. Captain Laval, being too dangerously injured to be moved, was trusted by the general to the clemency of the governor of Pensacola, who humanely gave him that attention his situation required.

The Indian warriors, who had taken refuge in Pensacola, finding themselves abandoned by the British, fled across the country, and sought safety on the Appalachicola: many were afforded shelter on board the shipping, from which they were shortly afterwards

CHAP. landed, to prosecute the war after their own manner,  
 VII. and in their own way. Jackson determined they

1814.

Expedi-  
 tion  
 against  
 the In-  
 dians.

should have no rest, or respite from danger, so long as a warlike attitude was preserved. Recent events had shown them, that neither the valour of their allies, nor their own exertions, could afford them protection. He believed it an auspicious moment to pursue them in their retreat; increase still more their fears and apprehensions; and effectually cut up that misplaced confidence, which had already well nigh proved their ruin. Understanding that those who had been carried off from Pensacola had been landed on the Appalachicola, and a depot of all necessary supplies there established, major Blue, of the thirty-ninth regiment, was sent off, on the 16th, at the head of a thousand mounted men, with orders to follow and attack them, and destroy any of their villages he might find, on his route. General McIntosh, of the Georgia militia, then in the Creek country, was apprized of the destination, and directed to co-operate, that the savages might be assailed and dispersed, before they should have it in their power to attempt hostilities against the frontiers. Having effected this object, they were ordered to repair to Mobile, to aid in its defence.

Shortly after the American army had retired, the Spaniards commenced rebuilding Forts Barrancas and St. Rose, which they had lost, through the improper interference of their friends. Anxious to regain that confidence they had justly forfeited, the British offered their services, to assist in the re-establishment. This offer was refused, and an answer returned by

the governor, that when assistance was in fact needed, he would make application to his friend, general Jackson. CHAP.  
VII.

1814.

There was nothing now so much desired by the general, as to be able to depart for New Orleans, where he apprehended most danger, and where he believed his presence was most material. He had already effected a partial security for Mobile, and the inhabitants on its borders; and such as he believed might be preserved, by proper vigilance and activity in those left in command. He determined to set out, on the 22d, for the Mississippi; and, by proper exertions, seek to place the country in such a situation for defence as the means within his reach would permit. His health was still delicate, which almost wholly unfitted him for the duties he had to encounter: but his constant expectation of a large force appearing soon on the coast, impelled him to action. Added to the fatigues incident to his station, he as yet had no brigadier general in his district, to relieve him of many of those duties, which he had neither time, nor bodily strength to meet. General Winchester had been ordered to join him. He had not yet arrived, but was daily looked for. In expectation of his speedy approach, Jackson was making every necessary arrangement, for investing him with the command of Mobile, and, for his own departure. Colonel Hayne, the inspector general, had been despatched to the mouth of the Mississippi, to examine if there were any eligible site, where, by erecting batteries, the river might be commanded, and an ascent prevented, if through this route sought. General Coffee and colonel Hinds, with the dragoons from the territory,

CHAP. VII. were ordered to march with their commands, and take

1814.

General  
Winches-  
ter arrives,  
and Jack-  
son pro-  
ceeds to  
New Or-  
leans.

a position as convenient to New Orleans as they could obtain a sufficiency of forage, to recruit their horses; having regard to some central point, whence they might, without loss of time, proceed wherever danger should be most imminent. Every thing being arranged, and general Winchester having reached the Alabama, Jackson, on the 22d day of November, left Mobile, for the city of New Orleans, and reached it on the 1st day of December; where his head quarters, for the present, were established.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Jackson's correspondence with governor Claiborne.—His address to the citizens of Louisiana.—Militia from Tennessee and Kentucky advance; and general plans adopted for defence.—Plan for filling delinquencies in the army.—British shipping arrive on the coast.—Loss of the Sea Horse.—Battle on the lake, and loss of the gun boats.—Jackson reviews the militia.—His address to them.—Expresses sent to generals Coffee and Carroll.—Declaration of martial law, at New Orleans.—The British effect a landing, and Jackson prepares to meet them.

GENERAL JACKSON was now on a new theatre, and soon to be brought in collision with an enemy, different from any he had yet encountered: the time had arrived, to call forth all the energies he possessed. His military career, from its commencement, had been obstructed by innumerable difficulties, but far greater were now rising to his view. His body worn down by sickness and exhaustion, with a mind constantly alive to the apprehension, that, with the means given him, it would not be in his power to satisfy his own wishes, and the expectations of his country, were circumstances well calculated to depress him. He was as yet without sufficient strength or preparation, to attempt successful opposition against the numerous and well-trained troops, which were expected shortly at some unprepared point, to enter, and lay

CHAP.  
VIII.

1814.

His December.

CHAP. waste the lower country. What was to be hoped,  
VIII. from the clemency and generous conduct of such a  
1814. foe, their march to the city of Washington already announced; while the imagination painted in lively colours the repetition, here, of scenes of desolation, even surpassing what had there been witnessed.

Louisiana, he well knew, was ill supplied with arms, and contained a mixed population, of different tongues, who perhaps felt not a sufficient attachment for the soil or government, to be induced to defend them to the last extremity. No troops, arms, or ammunition, had yet descended from the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. His only reliance for defence, if assailed, was on the few regulars he had, the volunteers of general Coffee, and such troops as the state itself could raise. What might be the final result of things, under prospects gloomy as the present, should an enemy shortly appear, was no difficult conjecture. His principal fears, at present, were, that Mobile might fall, the left bank of the Mississippi be gained, all communication with the western states cut off, and New Orleans be thus unavoidably reduced. Although continually agitated by such forebodings, he breathed his fears to none. Closely locking all apprehensions in his own breast, he appeared constantly serene, and as constantly endeavoured to impress a general belief, that the country could and would be successfully defended. The manifestation of such tranquillity, and apparent certainty of success, under circumstances so unpropitious, excited strong hopes, dispelled every thing like fear, and impressed all with additional confidence.

With the remnant of force he had at command, and the additional strength to be afforded him from Kentucky and Tennessee, uncertain in its arrival, undisciplined, and unarmed; to oppose an enemy who might be already on the coast, and of whose exceeding valour great and wondrous stories had been already told; might have sunk into inaction any mind not gifted with uncommon energy, and made it to retire from a contest, where seemingly insurmountable difficulties rendered delusive every hope of resistance: yet, firm and resolute, an increase of difficulties but occasioned an increase of exertion, and he entered on his forlorn undertaking, with no other determination than to leave nothing unessayed,—to ride out the threatening storm in safety.

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.While engaged in his operations on the Mobile, and even while at Fort Jackson, he had kept up a correspondence with the governor of Louisiana, persuading and urging him to the adoption of such measures, as might be calculated to give security to the state. From the information derived through this source, he felt assured, that little reliance was to be placed on the great body of the citizens; and that, to gain any decisive advantages from their services, it would be necessary to abandon any thing like temporizing policy, and pursue a course at once steady and unwavering. Many, indulging the belief that West Florida would shortly be restored to Spain; and a still greater number, resting in the opinion that the country could not be successfully defended, had led most well designing men astray; while Englishmen, Spaniards, and innumerable other foreigners, feeling no attachment to the

Correspondence  
with go-  
vernor  
Claiborne.

CHAP. government, under which they lived, were, at any  
VIII. time, ready to surrender it to any power that might  
1814. invade. The requisition made, had been badly filled ;  
many had absolutely refused, even after being drafted,  
to enter the ranks. At so eventful a crisis as that  
which was fast approaching, it was painful to discover  
so great a want of union and regard for their duty, in  
those very persons on whom he would have to rely,  
for any sudden emergency. This reluctance to en-  
tering the field, there was a propriety in putting down,  
that the good might not be led astray, from privileges  
usurped by the designing ; and to convince them, that  
those who shared the care and protection of the govern-  
ment, were under obligations to defend it, whenever  
required.

Governor Claiborne had been addressed on this  
subject ; and, while the necessity of discouraging such  
a temper of mind among his citizens was insisted on,  
he was exhorted to use his exertions, in guarding  
every pass from the city, that the enemy, hovering in  
the gulf, might not obtain supplies from the shore.  
“ I regret,” said he “ to hear of the discontents of your  
people : they must not exist. Whoever is not for us,  
is against us. Those who are drafted must be com-  
pelled to the ranks, or punished : it is no time to ba-  
lance : the country must be defended ; and he who re-  
fuses to aid, when called on, must be treated with se-  
verity. To repel the danger with which we are as-  
sailed, requires all our energies, and all our exertions.  
With union on our side, we shall be able to drive  
our invaders back to the ocean. Summon all your  
energy, and guard every avenue with confidential pa-

troles, for spies and traitors are swarming around. Numbers will be flocking to your city, to gain information, and corrupt your citizens. Every aid in your power must be given, to prevent any vessels sailing with provisions. By us, the enemy must not be fed. Let none pass; for on this will depend our safety, until we can get a competent force in the field, to oppose attack, or become the assailants. We have more to dread from intestine, than open and avowed enemies: but, vigilance on our side, and all will be safe. Remember, our watch word is victory or death. Our country must and shall be defended. We will enjoy our liberty, or die in the last ditch."

CHAP.  
VIII.

1814.

He forwarded, at the same time, an address to the people of Louisiana, and endeavoured to excite them to a defence of their rights and liberties, and to raise in their minds an abhorrence of an enemy, who, by proclamation, and dishonourable stratagem, was seeking to promote disunion, and draw the disaffected to his standard. He pointed out the course the present crisis required them to adopt, and entreated them not to be lured from their fidelity to a country, of all others the freest and happiest, by uniting with a foe, who sought a furtherance of his views, by the most disreputable pretences,—by courting the friendship and aid of even traitors, pirates, and robbers.

"Your government, Louisianians, is engaged in a just and honourable contest, for the security of your individual, and her national rights. The only country on earth, where man enjoys freedom, where its blessings are alike extended to the poor and rich, calls on you to protect her from the grasping usurpation of

Address  
to the  
citizens  
of Louisi-  
ana.

CHAP. Britain :—she will not call in vain. I know that every  
 VIII. man, whose bosom beats high, at the proud title of  
 1814. freeman, will promptly obey her voice, and rally round  
 the eagles of his country, resolved to rescue her from  
 impending danger, or nobly die in her defence. Who  
 refuses to defend his rights, when called on by his  
 government, deserves to be a slave,—deserves to be  
 punished, as an enemy to his country—a friend to her  
 foes.”

● The minds of the people of this state were thus gradually turned to consider of the contest, in which it was certainly expected they would be shortly engaged, that they might be ready and prepared to meet it, when the event should arrive. Preparations for collecting, in sufficient strength to repel an invasion, when it should be attempted, had been carried actively forward. The fiat of the secretary of war had been issued to the governors of the adjoining states: and Jackson had long since anxiously pressed them to hasten the execution of the order, and push their forces to the place of danger, without delay. The ardour felt by the governor of Tennessee, rendered any incentive unnecessary. He was well aware of the importance of activity and exertion, and had used all the authority of his office, to call the requisition forth, and have it in readiness.

Militia are  
 called out. The venerable Shelby, of Kentucky, had been no less vigilant, in discharge of the duty required of him. The necessity of despatch, in military matters, and the advantages resulting from it, in his youth, and more advanced age, he had studied and learned in the field of battle. The troops from his state

were immediately organized ;—placed under the command of major general Thomas, and proceeded down the Ohio, to resist the inroads of the enemy.\* It may be esteemed a circumstance of great good fortune, that Shelby, at a time so perilous as that in which the United States were placed, during the period of his services, should have been the chief magistrate of Kentucky ; a state possessing ample resources, and which might have slumbered in inaction, but for the energy of him who filled her executive chair. He did not remain contented with a discharge of those duties, merely imposed on him by his office ; but, feeling the ardour of his youth revived, excited his citizens by manly appeals, and inspirited them by his own example. The government had never called upon the patriotism of this state, that it had not been met with a becoming zeal by the governor, and as cheerfully and promptly acquiesced in by his people. The bravery with which they crowded to the American standard, at the first onset of danger, where they firmly supported the honour of the nation, enduring cold, and hunger, and every privation, is remembered, and will not be forgotten.

William Carroll, who, on the promotion of Jackson in the army of the United States, had been appointed a major general, was to command the requisition in-

\* Although this requisition was ready to proceed, yet the state of the quarter master's department was inadequate to those outfits and supplies necessary to its departure. Thus situated, individuals of the state came forward, pledged their funds, and enabled it to set out.

CHAP. tended to be marched from Tennessee. He had issued  
VIII.

1814.

his orders to his division, and, on the 19th of December, the day appointed for their rendezvous, twenty-five hundred of the yeomanry of the state appeared at Nashville; and, in eight days, embarked on board their boats, and directed their way to New Orleans, the place of their destination. To the industry of general Carroll, in hastening those arrangements, which enabled his division so soon to depart, every respect is due; for to his fortunate arrival, as will be seen hereafter, is greatly to be attributed the reason that success did not result to the enemy, in his first assault, or that Louisiana escaped the impending danger.

The militia, now organized from these two states, were respectable for their numbers, and commanded by officers, who carried with them entire confidence. In bravery, they were not surpassed by any troops; yet were they without experience or discipline, and poorly armed. Many had procured muskets and bayonets; though the greater part of them had arms capable of rendering little or no service; and some had none. To remedy their want of discipline was attended with some difficulty, on account of the slender means afforded for instruction, while, in boats, they were descending the river. Carroll's anxiety, however, for the respectable appearance of his troops, and a still stronger desire entertained, that they might be in a situation for immediate action, should necessity, on his arrival, require it, led him to seize even on the limited opportunities for improvement, that were within his reach. Whenever, from adverse winds, or any other cause preventing his progress, he was compelled



to stop, his men were immediately brought to receive every information that could, under such circumstances, be communicated ; and often, while floating with the stream, the decks of his boats formed a field for their manœuvres. Although in this way, considerable progress was made, and some advantages gained, yet they were but militia-men, and as yet altogether unqualified to meet the veteran troops, with which they were going to contend.

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Although general Jackson had obtained his successes, heretofore, with troops of this description, yet he was far from entertaining a belief that they could be relied on, for manœuvring in an open field, against troops who were skilled, and inured to war. None knew better the point of exertion to which militia could be strained ; that while successful, and resting with confidence in themselves, none could effect more ; but when once dispirited, they became a useless weight. Taught by the recollection of his own difficulties, that forces of this description were ever capricious and refractory, he had heretofore brought to the notice of the secretary of war, a new and different course from what had been before pursued, as being more efficient, less expensive, and better calculated for the purposes of defence. In a letter to him, of the 20th of November, 1814, he observes, " Permit me to suggest a plan, which, on a fair experiment, will do away or lessen the expenses, under the existing mode of calling militia forces into the field. Whenever there happens to be a deficiency in the regular force, in any particular quarter, let the government determine on the necessary number : this should be apportioned among

Mode of  
supply-  
ing delin-  
quencies  
in the ar-  
my.

CHAP. the different states, agreeably to their respective repre-  
VIII. sentations, and called into service for, and during, the  
1814. war. The quota wanted will, in my opinion, be soon  
raised, from premiums offered by those who are sub-  
ject to militia duty, rather than be harassed by repeated  
drafts. In the mean time, let the present bounty, given  
by the government, be also continued. If this be  
done, I will ensure that an effective force shall soon  
appear in every quarter, amply sufficient for the reduc-  
tion of Canada, and to drive all our enemies from our  
shores."

Such was the course of things, and such the plans  
adopted for security and safety, when the general  
reached New Orleans. The period was too moment-  
ous to afford him a respite from business; and he im-  
mediately adopted such measures as could be earliest  
effected, and were best calculated for resistance and  
defence.

The legislature of Louisiana had been for some  
weeks in session; and, through the governor's com-  
munication, had been informed of the situation and  
strength of the country, and of the necessity of calling  
all its resources into action; but, balancing in their  
decisions, and uncertain of the best course to be pur-  
sued, to assure protection, they as yet had resolved  
upon nothing promising certainty and safety, or calcu-  
lated to infuse tranquillity and confidence in the public  
mind. The arrival of Jackson, however, produced a  
new aspect in affairs. His activity and zeal in prepa-  
ration, and his reputation as a brave man and skilful  
commander, turned all eyes towards him, and inspired

even the desponding with a confidence they had not before felt. CHAP. VIII.

The volunteer corps of the city were reviewed, and a visit, in person, made to the different forts, to ascertain their situations, and the reliance that might be had on them, to repel the enemy's advance. Through the lakes, their large vessels could not pass: should an approach be attempted, through this route, in their barges, it might be met and opposed by the gun boats, which already guarded this passage; but if, unequal to the contest, they should be captured, it would, at any rate, give timely information of a descent, which might be resisted on the landing, before an opportunity could be had of executing fully their designs. Up the Mississippi, however, was looked upon as the most probable pass, through which might be made an attempt to reach the city; and here were progressing suitable preparations for defence. 1814.

We have already noticed that colonel Hayne had been despatched from Mobile, with directions to view the Mississippi, near its mouth, and report if any advantageous position could be found for the erection of batteries; and whether the re-establishment of the old fort at the Balize could command the river, in a way to prevent its being ascended. That it could not be relied on for this purpose, the opinions of military men had already declared. General Jackson was always disposed to respect the decisions of those, who, from their character and standing, were entitled to confidence: yet in matters of great importance, it formed no part of his creed to attach his faith to the statements of any, where the object being within his

CHAP. reach, it was in his power to satisfy himself. Trusting  
 VIII. implicitly in colonel Hayne, as a military man, who,  
 1814. from proper observations, could infer correct conclusions, he had been despatched to examine how far it was practicable to obstruct and secure this channel. His report was confirmatory of the previous information received, that it was incapable, from its situation, of effecting any such object.

General  
 plans  
 adopted  
 for de-  
 fence.

Fort St. Philips was now resorted to, as the lowest point on the river, where the erection of works could be at all serviceable. The general had returned to New Orleans, on the 9th, from a visit to this place, which he had ordered to be repaired and strengthened. The commanding officer was directed to remove every combustible material without the fort; to have two additional platforms immediately raised; and the embrasures so enlarged, that the ordnance might have the greatest possible sweep upon their circles, and be brought to bear on any object within their range, that might approach either up or down the river. At a small distance below, the Mississippi, changing its course, left a neck of land in the bend, covered with timber, and which obstructed the view. From this point, down to where old Fort Bourbon stood, on the west side, the growth along the bank was ordered to be cut away, that the shot from St. Philips, ranging across this point of land, might reach an approaching vessel, before she should be unmasked from behind it. On the site of Bourbon, was to be thrown up a strong work, defended by five twenty-four pounders, which, with the fort above, would expose an enemy to a cross fire, for half a mile. . A mile above St. Philips was to

be established a work, which, in conjunction with the others, would command the river for two miles. At Terre au Bœuf, and at the English turn, twelve miles below the city were also to be taken measures for defence; where it was expected by Jackson, with his flying artillery and fire ships, he would be able, certainly, to arrest the enemy's advance. This system of defence, properly established, he believed would give security from any attack in this direction. Fort St. Philips, with the assistant batteries, above and below, would so concentrate their fires, that an enemy could never pass, without suffering greatly, and perhaps being so shattered, that they would fall an easy prey to those still higher up the river. The essential difficulty was to have them commenced, and speedily finished. On returning, he hastened to apprise the governor of his views, and entreated him to aid in their furtherance. It was proposed to submit it to the consideration of the legislature, and to prevail, if possible, with the planters, to furnish their negroes, by whom alone such work could, in so insalubrious a climate, be safely done. "If what is proposed be performed," said he, "I will stand pledged that the invaders of your state shall never, through this route, reach your city." He desired to be informed, early, of the success of the application, and how far the legislature would be disposed to extend their fostering care to the objects suggested; that, in the event of failure, he might have recourse to such resources as were within his reach. "But," added he, "not a moment is to be lost. With energy and expedition, all is safe:—delay, and all is lost."

CHAP.  
VIII.

1814.

CHAP. The plans of operation and defence were projecting  
 VIII. on an extensive scale. The only objects of fear were  
 1814. the traitors who infested the city ; and to these, after  
 the most incessant exertions, he had well nigh fallen a  
 victim.

The legislature had met his views with becoming  
 zeal ; and the necessary measures had been taken, to  
 have the selected points for defence completed in the  
 shortest possible time ; which would present, on the  
 Mississippi, barriers, that it was not feared the enemy  
 would be able to pass.

Upon lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, an equally  
 strong confidence was had, that all would be safe from  
 invasion. Commodore Patterson, who commanded  
 the naval forces, had executed every order with prompt-  
 ness and activity. Agreeably to instructions received  
 from the commanding general, to extend to all the  
 passes on the lakes every protection in his power, he  
 had already sent out the gun boats, under lieutenant  
 Jones. From their vigilance and capability to defend,  
 great advantages were calculated to arise ; added to  
 which, the Rigolets, the communication between the  
 two lakes, was defended by Petit Coquille fort, a strong  
 work, under the command of captain Newman, which,  
 when acting in conjunction with the gun boats, it was  
 supposed would be competent to repel any assault that  
 might here be waged. The prospects of defence had  
 been improved, by detachments sent out to fell timber  
 across every small bayou and creek, leading out of the  
 lakes, and through which a passage for boats and  
 barges could be afforded ; and to increase the obstruc-  
 tion, by sinking large frames in their beds, and filling

Gun boats  
 are sent  
 on lake  
 Borgne.

them with earth. Guards and videttes were out, to watch every thing that passed, and give the earliest information. In despite of these precautionary measures, treachery opened a way, and pointed the entrance of the enemy to a narrow pass, through which they effected a landing, and reached, previously to being discovered, the banks of the Mississippi.

CHAP.  
VIII.

1814.

Such were the measures adopted for the protection of Louisiana, against an attack, which, although hitherto resting on conjecture, was supported by too many strong circumstances to admit of doubt. Information of a large force having left England, filled with high hopes and expectations—the attack on Fort Bowyer, and the inflammatory proclamations, already published, with anonymous letters, received from persons in the West Indies and Pensacola, known, and to be relied on, all tended strongly to unfold their views, and to dissipate every thing like doubt.\* But the time was at hand when conjecture was giving place to certainty; when the intentions of the enemy were fully developing themselves; and the fact fairly presented, that Louisiana would fall, and her principal city be sacked, unless the brave men, associated to defend her, should stand, firmly resolved to justify the high expectations formed of their valour. Certain information was at hand, of an English fleet being now off Cat and Ship island, within a short distance of the American lines, where their strength and numbers were daily increasing.

British  
shipping  
arrive on  
the coast.

Lieutenant Jones, in command of the gun boats, on Lake Borgne, was directed to reconnoitre, and ascer-

\* See note B.

CHAP.  
VIII.

1814.

tain their disposition and force ; and, in the event they should attempt, through this route, to effect a disembarkation, to retire to the Rigolets, and there, with his flotilla, make an obstinate resistance, and contend to the last. He remained off Ship island, until the 12th of December ; when, understanding the enemy's forces were much increased, he thought it most advisable to change his anchorage, and retire to a position near Malheureux island. This course was rendered more necessary, because affording a safer position, and, in the event of being attacked, a better opportunity of making good his retreat to the Rigolets, where alone he was instructed to attempt opposition. Whoever looks upon a map of the country, will at once discover the importance of the place, if driven into action with a greatly superior force. This, and Chef Menteur, which unite at the entrance to the lake, and form a narrow channel, constitutes the only pass into Pontchartrain. By reaching it, the gun boats would present as formidable an opposition as could be made by all the force that could be brought against them, and put at defiance any effort that could be made, to gain the city through this route.

On the 13th, Jones discovered the enemy moving off in his barges, and directing his way towards Pass Christian. He was not long in doubt, as to the objects probably had in view ; for, although at first it was supposed to be "a disembarkation, intended to be landed there, yet, on their passing it, and pursuing their course still further westwardly, he at once concluded an attack on the gun boats was designed." His orders left him no discretion, as to the place he should meet and fight



them. Indeed, his flotilla, although quite inconsiderable in numbers, was of too much consequence to the nation, at this juncture; to be inadvertently risked, or in fact risked at all, unless under circumstances giving a decided superiority. In no other way was this to be obtained, than by reaching the point to which he had been ordered: this he endeavoured to effect, as soon as he became satisfied of what was intended by their present movement. Weighing, therefore, his anchors, with the design of reaching the position referred to in his orders, he soon discovered it to be wholly impracticable. A strong wind having blown for some days to the east, from the lake to the gulf, had so reduced the depth of water, that the best and deepest channels were insufficient to float his little squadron. The oars were resorted to, but without rendering the least assistance: it was inamoveable. Recourse was now had to throwing every thing overboard that could be spared, to lighten and bring them off; all, however, was ineffectual,—nothing could afford relief. At this moment of extreme peril and danger, the tide coming suddenly in, relieved from present embarrassment, and lifting them from the shoal, they bore away from the attack meditated; directed their course for the Rigollets; and came to anchor at one o'clock the next morning, on the west passage of Malheureux isle; where, at day, they discovered the pursuit had been abandoned.

At the bay of St. Louis was a small depot of public stores, which had, that morning, been directed, by lieutenant Jones, to be brought off. Mr. Johnston, on board the Sea Horse, had proceeded in the execution of this order. The enemy, on the retreat of Jones,

CHAP. despatched three of their barges to capture him ; but,  
VIII. unable to effect it, they were driven back. An addi-

1814.

Loss of  
the Sea  
Horse.

tional force now proceeded against him ; when a smart action commenced, and the assailants were again compelled to retire, with some loss. Johnston, satisfied that it was out of his power successfully to defend himself, and considering it hopeless to attempt uniting, in face of so large a force, with the gun boats off Matheux, determined to blow up his vessel, burn the stores, and effect his retreat by land. A prodigious explosion, and flames bursting on his view, assured Jones of the probable step that had been taken.

Early on the morning of the 14th, the enemy's barges, lying about nine miles to the east, suddenly weighed their anchors ; and, getting under way, proceeded westwardly to the pass, where our gun boats still lay. The same difficulty they had experienced yesterday was now encountered. Perceiving the approach of the enemy's flotilla,\*an attempt was made to retreat ; but in vain. The wind was entirely lulled, and a perfect calm prevailed ; while a strong current, setting to the gulf, rendered every effort to retire unavailing. No alternative was at hand ; but a single course was left ;—to meet and fight them. At once the resolution was adopted, to avail themselves of the best position they could obtain, wait their approach, and defend themselves, whilst there was a hope of success. The line was formed, with springs on the cables, and all were waiting, composedly, the arrival of a foe, who imagined himself advancing to an easy conquest. The contest, in so open and unfavourable a situation, and against so superior a force, promised, indeed, to

be a very unequal one: yet the firmness and bravery which had always characterized our fearless tars in battle, were, on this occasion, not to be tarnished. An unfortunate state of things, which they could not control, had brought them into battle at a moment, and under circumstances, their discretion did not approve; but, being inevitable, every mind was determined on a desperate stand; and still, though beaten, to preserve unsullied their reputation,—their flag from dishonour.

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Forty-three boats, mounting as many cannon, with twelve hundred chosen men, well armed, constituted the strength of the assailants. Advancing in extended line, they were presently in reach: and, at half after eleven o'clock, commencing a fire, the action soon became general. Owing to a strong current, setting out to the east, two of the boats, numbers 156 and 163, were unable to keep their anchorage, and floated about an hundred yards in advance of the line. This circumstance was unfortunate; for although it could by no means be calculated, that victory could be attendant on a conflict, where strength and numbers were so disproportionate, yet, could the line have been preserved, the chances for defence would have been increased,—the opportunity more favourable for inflicting injury, and crippling the foe, while the period of the contest would have been protracted. Every moment this could have been prolonged would have proved essentially advantageous; for soon as the wind should spring up, which yet continued lulled, the boats would be rendered more manageable, and an opportunity afforded of retiring from the battle, whenever the result promised to become fatal.

Battle on  
the lake,  
and loss  
of the gun  
boats.

CHAP. VIII. The enemy, coming up with the two gun boats, in advance of the line, and relying on their numbers and supposed superior skill, determined to board. 1814. For this purpose, several of their barges bore down on number 156, commanded by lieutenant Jones, but failed in the attempt; they were repulsed, with an immense destruction, both in their officers and crew, and two of their boats sunk; one of them, with one hundred and eighty men, went down, immediately under the stern of number 156. Again rallying, with a stronger force than before, another desperate assault was made, to board, and carry at the point of the sword, which was again repelled, with considerable loss. The contest was now bravely waged, and spiritedly resisted. Lieutenant Jones, unable to keep on the deck, from a severe wound he had received, retired, leaving the command with George Parker, who no less valiantly defended his flag, until, severely wounded, he was forced to leave his post. No longer able to maintain the conflict, and overpowered by superior numbers, they yielded the victory, after a contest of forty minutes, in which every thing was done that gallantry could do, and nothing unperformed that duty required. The commandant was ably supported by lieutenants Spedder and M'Ever, of numbers 162 and 123, and by sailing masters Ulrick and Deferris, of numbers 163 and 5. The two former were wounded; M'Ever severely, in both arms; in one so badly, as to be compelled to have it amputated. It is unnecessary to take up the time of the reader, in commendation of this Spartan band: their bravery and good conduct will be long remembered and admired,

and excite emotions much stronger than language can paint. The great disparity of force between the combatants, added to the advantages the enemy derived from the peculiar construction of their boats, which gave them an opportunity to take any position that circumstances and safety directed, while the others lay wholly unmanageable, presents a curious and strange result; that, while the American loss was but six killed, and thirty-five wounded, that of their assailants was not less than three hundred. The British have never afforded us any light upon this subject: but, from every information, and from all the attendant circumstances of the battle, it was even believed to have exceeded this number; of which a large proportion was officers.\*

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The British returned to their shipping, at Cat island, with their prisoners, carrying with them a convincing argument, to do away the belief with which they had arrived, that, in this section of country, the inhabitants were waiting, with open arms, to receive them; and that the forces embodied for its defence would retire, at the first appearance of danger. It was the same argument which, a few weeks before, had been made to colonel Nicholls, at Fort Bowyer, and which had produced on his mind such conviction, as to render him

|                   | Boats.   | Men.       | Guns.    |
|-------------------|----------|------------|----------|
| * The British had | 43       | 1200       | 43       |
| The Americans     | 5        | 182        | 23       |
|                   | <hr/> 38 | <hr/> 1018 | <hr/> 20 |

So that the disparity of force was as eight—seven—and nearly two to one.

CHAP. unwilling, at that time, that the matter should be further discussed in his presence.

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This disaster was announced to general Jackson, while on a visit to the lakes, whither he had gone to examine the situation of the different works, there erected. He heard it with much concern; for on it important consequences rested. The means of watching the enemy, and ascertaining his projects, were now cut off, and the necessity imposed, of resorting for safety, in this direction, to entirely different remedies.

Aided by ours, and the great number of their own boats, his fears for the safety of Mobile were much increased. The apprehensions which he had constantly entertained for this place were of the most lively kind. Although he had every confidence in the gallant commander at Fort Bowyer, yet he well knew how inefficient were the exertions of a brave man, when assailed by superior strength and numbers. The security of this place was to him a matter of the greatest concern. It seems to have been an object that never sufficiently fastened itself on the consideration of our enemy. His own apprehensions of an invasion here, as affecting much more seriously the interest of the lower country, was to him a cause of constant uneasiness. He felt confident, that, while this remained safe, so might the country adjacent; but if it fell, conquered by a greatly superior force, the settlements on the Mobile and Alabama rivers would become tributary, and New Orleans be involved in the general ruin. Deeply impressed with the importance of the place, he had heretofore brought to the view of the secretary of war the propriety and necessity of adopting such a

course, as should place it entirely out of the reach of danger. To effect this, he had proposed that a large frigate, mounting forty-four guns, which, for some cause, to him unknown, had been left on the stocks, at Tchifonte, in an unfinished state, should be completed, and applied to this purpose. "Let her," he remarked, "be placed in the Navy Cove, which will protect the rear of the fort; and my life upon it, ten thousand troops, and all the British fleet, cannot take the place, nor enter the bay. This will be their point of attack; if carried, they will penetrate the Indian nation,—there make a stand, and excite the savages to war, and the negroes to insurrection and massacre;—penetrate, if they can, to the left bank of the Mississippi, and arrest all communication. If they succeed in this, the lower country falls, of course." Nothing, however, had ever been done: and the defence now rested on the means which he himself could reach. An express was sent to general Winchester, apprizing him of what had happened; that all communication being cut off, he must look to the procuring supplies for his army, from Tennessee, through the posts established in the Creek country. "The enemy," he continues, "will attempt, through Pass Huron, to reach you: watch, nor suffer yourself to be surprised; haste, and throw sufficient supplies into Fort Bowyer; and guard vigilantly the communication from Fort Jackson, lest it be destroyed. Mobile point must be supported and defended, at every hazard. The enemy has given us a large coast to guard; but I trust, with the smiles of heaven, to be able to meet and defeat

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CHAP. him, at every point he may venture his foot upon the  
VIII. land."

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Increased vigilance, and enlarged exertions, were now required; to guard the different routes, through which they might seek to make good their progress, and reach the object of their visit. Major Lacoste, commanding the battalion of coloured troops, was ordered, with two pieces of cannon, and a sufficient force, to take post, and defend the Chef Menteur road, that led from the head of lake Borgne to New Orleans. In fact, wherever an inlet or creek, of the smallest size, putting in, justified the belief, that through it an entrance might be effected, suitable arrangements were made, to oppose the passage, and prevent approach. Through the Rigolets was presumed the most probable route the enemy would adventure, that, by gaining lake Pontchartrain, a landing might be made; above or below, or at bayou St. John, opposite the city; and, by a division of their forces, make such a diversion, as, with raw troops, could not be met, under any circumstances of advantage.

This place had been confided to captain Newman, of the artillery. It was an important point, as well for the purposes already named, as being a position whence any movement on the lakes could be discovered. On the 22d, it was reinforced by several heavy pieces of cannon, and an additional supply of men. He was advised by the general, of its consequence, and that it was not to be inconsiderately yielded; but that, in the event he should be compelled to abandon it, every thing being properly secured, he was to make good



his retreat to Chef Menteur, where he would be covered by an additional force: "But," added he "you are not to retreat, until your judgment is well convinced that it is absolutely necessary to the very salvation of your command."

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On the 16th, the militia were reviewed by Jackson. He had found, on his first arrival at New Orleans, such a state of despondency manifested by the people, that to remove it had called forth all his exertions. His active and incessant endeavours to have defended every accessible point, and a confidence, constantly evinced, that his resources were commensurate with all the purposes of successful resistance, had completely undermined those fears, at first so generally indulged. Lest, from what had lately happened, the same state of things might be again produced, was the principal cause of appearing before them, to-day, on review; to convince them, by his deportment, that the safety of the city was not to be despaired of. He directed an address, previously prepared for the purpose, to be read to them. It was drawn in language breathing the warmth of his own feelings, and well calculated to communicate and inspire the same glow to others. He told them that they were contending for all that could render life desirable; "For your property and lives;—for that which is dearer than all, your wives and children;—for liberty, without which, country, life, and property, are not worth possessing. Even the embraces of wives and children are a reproach to the wretch, who would deprive them by his cowardice, of those inestimable blessings. You are to contend with an enemy who seeks to deprive you

Jackson  
reviews  
the mili-  
tia.

His ad-  
dress to  
them.

CHAP. of the least of these,—who avows a war of vengeance  
VIII. and desolation, carried on and marked by cruelties,  
lusts, and horrors, unknown to civilized nations.

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“ Natives of the United States ! the enemy you are to contend with are the oppressors of your infant political existence—they are the men your fathers fought and conquered, whom you are now to oppose. Descendants of Frenchmen ! natives of France ! they are English, the hereditary, the eternal enemies of your ancient country, the invaders of that you have adopted, who are your foes. Spaniards ! remember the conduct of your allies at St. Sebastian, and recently at Pensacola, and rejoice that you have an opportunity of avenging the brutal injuries inflicted by men who dishonour the human race. Louisianians ! your general rejoices to witness the spirit that animates you, not only for your honour, but your safety ; for whatever had been your conduct or wishes, his duty would have led, and yet will lead him to confound the citizen, unmindful of his rights, with the enemy he ceases to oppose. Commanding men who know their rights, and are determined to defend them, he salutes you as brethren in arms ; and has now a new motive to exert all his faculties, which shall be strained to the utmost, in your defence. Continue with the energy you have begun, and he promises you not only safety, but victory over an insolent foe, who has insulted you by an affected doubt of your attachment to the constitution of your country. Your enemy is near ; his sails already cover the lakes : but the brave are united ; and if he find us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valour,—and fame, its noblest reward.”

Resistance on the lakes being at an end, no doubt was entertained, but that the moment for action would be, as early as the enemy could make his preparations to proceed. At what point, at what time, and with a force how greatly superior to his own, were matters wholly resting in uncertainty, and could not be known, until they actually transpired. All the means for opposition were to be seized on, without delay. That the hour of attack was not far distant, was confirmed by a circumstance which reflects no considerable honour on the officer in command of the fleet. The day after the contest on the lakes, Mr. Shields, purser in the navy, was despatched with a flag, to Cat island, accompanied by Dr. Murrell, for the purpose of alleviating the situation of our wounded, and to effect a negotiation, by which they should be liberated on parole. We are not aware that such an application militated against the usages and customs of war: if not, the flag of truce should have been respected; nor ought its bearer to have been detained as a prisoner. Admiral Cochrane's fears, that it was a wile, designed to find out his strength and situation, are far from presenting a sufficient excuse for so wanton an outrage on propriety. If this were apprehended, could not the messengers have been met, at a distance from the fleet, and ordered back, without a nearer approach? Had this been done, no information could have been gained, and the object designed to be secured by their detention would have been answered, without infringing that amicable intercourse between contending armies, which, when violated or disregarded, opens a door to brutal and savage warfare. Find-

CHAP. ing they did not return, the cause of it was at once  
VIII. correctly divined.

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An ex-  
press is  
sent in  
quest of  
general  
Coffee.

Early on the 15th, expresses were sent off, up the coast, in quest of general Coffee; to endeavour to procure information of the Kentucky and Tennessee divisions, which it was hoped were not far distant, and to urge their speedy approach. In his communication to Coffee, the general observes, "You must not sleep, until you arrive within striking distance. Your accustomed activity is looked for. Innumerable defiles present themselves, where your riflemen will be all important. An opportunity is at hand, to reap for yourself and brigade the approbation of your country."

In obedience to the order he had received at Mobile, to occupy some central position, where his horses might be subsisted, and whence he might act as circumstances should require, Coffee had proceeded as far as Sandy creek, a small distance above Baton Rouge, where he had halted. His brigade, on its march, had been greatly exposed, and had encountered many hardships. The cold season had set in; and, for twenty days, it had rained incessantly. The waters were raised to uncommon heights, and every creek and bayou was to be bridged or swum. Added to this, their march was through a poor country, but thinly settled, where little subsistence was to be had, and that procured with much difficulty. He had been at this place eight or ten days, when, late on the night of the 17th, the express, despatched from head quarters, reached him. He lost no time in executing the order; and, directing one of his regiments, which, for the greater convenience of foraging, lay about six

miles off, to unite with him, he was ready in the morning, and marched the instant it arrived. In consequence of innumerable exposures, there were, at this time, three hundred on his sick list. These being left, he commenced his march, with twelve hundred and fifty men. The weather yet continued extremely cold and rainy, which prevented their proceeding with the celerity, the exigency of the moment so much required. Coffee, perceiving that the movement of his whole force, in a body, would perhaps occasion delays, ruinous to the main object in view, ordered all who were well mounted, and able to proceed, to advance with him; while the rest of his brigade, under suitable officers, were left to follow on, as fast as the weak and exhausted condition of their horses would permit. His force, by this arrangement, was reduced to eight hundred men, with whom he moved with the utmost industry. Having marched eighty miles the last day, he encamped, on the night of the 19th, within fifteen miles of New Orleans, making, in two days, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. Continuing his advance, early next morning, he halted within four miles of the city, to examine the state and condition of his arms; and to learn, in the event the enemy had landed, the relative position of the two armies.

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These brave men, without murmuring, had now traversed an extent of country, nothing short of eight hundred miles, and under trials sufficiently severe to have appalled the most resolute and determined. They had enrolled themselves, not as volunteers sometimes do, to frolic; and, by peaceable campaigns, to gain a name in arms; they had done it, knowing that

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an enemy, if not already at hand, was certainly expected, with whom they would have to contend, and contend severely. Great reliance was had on them by the commanding general; and their good conduct, in the different situations in which they had acted with him, was a proof how much they deserved it. On inspecting their arms, which consisted principally of rifles, two hundred were discovered to be greatly injured by the weather, and unfit for service.

The advance of colonel Hinds, from Woodville, with the Mississippi dragoons, was no less prompt and expeditious; an active and brave officer, he was, on this, as on all other occasions, at his post, ready to act as was required. Having received his orders, he hastened forward, and effected, in four days, a march of two hundred and thirty miles.

On the 16th, colonel Hynes, aid-de-camp to general Carroll, reached head quarters, with information from the general, that he would be down, as early as possible; but that the situation of the weather, and high winds, greatly retarded his progress. The steamboat was immediately put in requisition, and ordered up the river, to aid him in reaching his destination, without loss of time. He was advised of the necessity of hastening rapidly forward; that the lakes were in possession of the enemy, and their arrival daily looked for: "But," continued Jackson, "I am resolved, feeble as my force is, to assail him, on his first landing, and perish, sooner than he shall reach the city."

Independent of a large force, descending with general Carroll, his coming was looked to with additional pleasure, from the circumstance of his having with him

a boat, laden with arms, which, destined for the defence of the country, he had overtaken on the passage. His falling in with them was fortunate; for, had their arrival depended on those to whom they had been incautiously given, they might have come too late, and after all danger had subsided; as was indeed the case with others, forwarded from Pittsburg, which, through the unpardonable conduct of those who had been entrusted with their management and transportation, did not reach New Orleans, until after all difficulties had ended. Great inconvenience was sustained, during the siege, for want of arms, to place in the hands of the militia. Great as it was, it would have been increased, even to an alarming extent, but for the accidental circumstance of this boat falling into the hands of the Tennessee division, which impelled it on, and thereby produced incalculable advantage.\*

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\* On the first intimation that the British intended a descent on this section of the United States, general Jackson had suggested to the secretary of war the scarcity of both arms and ordnance, and the necessity of having the deficiency remedied, as soon as possible. Mr. Monroe had given the earliest attention to this subject, and had ordered an ample supply to be embarked from Pittsburg, sufficiently early to have reached head quarters, previously to the enemy's landing. Their transportation down the western waters had been confided to men, who felt not a sufficient concern for their speedy arrival, to use the necessary diligence. Whether the government had given any such orders, or it were a piece of penny-wise economy, suggested by the quarter master, we do not know. The fact, however, is, that a steam vessel, sailing with much expedition, proposed to carry and deliver them at New Orleans, in eighteen days, which would

CHAP. This division, as we have before remarked, had left  
VIII.

1814. Nashville on the 19th of last month. Their exertions, without which they could not have arrived in time to have given that assistance, and protection which the peril of the moment so much required, entitle them and their commander to every gratitude. But above all, is our gratitude due to that benign Providence, who, having aided in the establishment of our glorious independence, again manifested his goodness and power, in guarding the rights of a country, rendered sacred by the blood of the virtuous, heretofore shed in her defence. It rarely, if ever, happens, that the

have been in time for all the purposes afterwards needed. But he who had the management of this business, because he had it in his power to save a very inconsiderable sum in freight, preferred delivering them to the captain of a large flat bottomed boat, which moved slowly, and which, withal, it was understood, would occasionally stop on the way, to traffic, and trade off the different articles with which she was laden. On all occasions, we would commend the doctrine of economy, when founded on correct principles: but that minister or agent of the government, who, to save a partial expense, hazards the loss of thousands; or who, through parsimonious views, of any kind whatever, risks the loss of a whole country, evidences such weak and narrow-sighted policy, as can on no ground be justified. This single circumstance, as it afterwards turned out, is sufficient to show the correctness of the position, if argument were necessary to establish it. The general, in a letter to the secretary of war, after the battle of the 8th, remarks, that if he had had a sufficiency of arms, he would have captured or destroyed the whole British army; and this he might have had, if the agents of the government had executed the duties confided to them, on a scale liberal as the crisis demanded.



Cumberland river admits a passage for boats, so early in the season; but torrents of rain descending swelled the stream, and wafted our troops safely to the Mississippi, where all obstructions were at an end. Their apprehensions lest the blow might be stricken, and the injury done, before they could reach their destined point, had inspired an alacrity and exertion, which brought them to the place of danger and usefulness, in a shorter period of time than even traders had usually employed, when hurrying with their produce to market.

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While these preparations were progressing, to concentrate the forces within his reach, the general was turning his attention to ward off any blow that might be aimed, before his expected reinforcements should arrive. Every point, capable of being successfully assailed, was receiving such additional strength and security as could be given. Patroles and videttes were ranged through the country; that the earliest intelligence might be had of any intended movement. The militia of the state was called out *en masse*; and, through the interference of the legislature, an embargo declared, to afford an opportunity of procuring additional recruits for the navy. General Villery, because an inhabitant of the country, and best understanding the several points on the lakes, susceptible of, and requiring defence, was ordered, with the Louisiana militia, to search out, and give protection to the different passes, where a landing might be effected.

To hinder the enemy from obtaining supplies on the shore, a detachment was sent to Pearl river, to prevent any parties from landing, until the stock could

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be driven from the neighbourhood. The precaution, for some time used, of restricting the departure of any vessel with provisions, had greatly disappointed the expectations of the British, and had even introduced distress into Pensacola. The governor had solicited the opening a communication, for the relief of the suffering inhabitants of his province. Jackson was aware that this appeal to his humanity might be a stratagem, having for its object to aid his enemy. Although the governor, hitherto, had given no flattering evidence, either of his friendship, his candour, or sincerity, still his statement might be correct; and if so, the neutrality of his country established a well-founded claim to the benevolence of the Americans. Balancing between a desire that these people should not be seriously injured, and a fear that the application was intended for a very different purpose, he determined to err on the side of mercy, and relieve their wants. This he directed general Winchester, at Mobile, to effect, if his stock of provisions would permit it. He was particularly enjoined that the quantity sent should be small, and be conveyed by water: "For if," said he, "the Spaniards are really in distress, and it shall be taken by the British, it will excite their just indignation towards them, and erase all friendship, while they will be afforded an additional proof of ours: and the supply, being inconsiderable, will be of no great benefit to our enemy."

His arrangements were well conceived, and rapidly progressing; but they were still insufficient; and his own forebodings assured him, that, to obtain security, something stronger than had been yet resorted to,

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required to be adopted. That there was an enemy in the midst of his camp, more to be feared than those who were menacing from abroad, was indeed highly probable; while an apprehension indulged, that there were many foreigners, who, feeling no attachment for the country, and having nothing to defend, would not scruple to avail themselves of every opportunity, to give intelligence of the strength, situation, and arrangement of his camp, excited his fears, and induced a wish to apply the earliest possible corrective. A stranger himself, his own conjectures might not have led to the conclusion; but information received, before and soon after his arrival, through different channels, had awakened a belief, that the country was filled with traitors and spies, who, if not closely guarded, might occasion the worst of consequences. Although he had been in possession of data, sufficiently strong to confirm him in the opinion, that the facts were truly as had been represented; until now, no urgent necessity had arisen, rendering a resort to rigid measures essential to the general safety. Abundant evidence of prevailing disaffection had been already obtained, through governor Claiborne. In a letter to general Jackson, after his return from Pensacola, he observes, "Enemies to the country may blame your prompt and energetic measures; but in the person of every patriot, you will find a supporter. I am well aware of the lax police of this city, and indeed of the whole state, with respect to strangers. I think, with you, that our country is filled with traitors and spies. On this subject, I have written pressingly to the city authorities and parish judges. Some regulations, I hope, will be

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Declara-  
tion of  
martial  
law.

and necessity required. They were assured his object was to defend the country, and that he should do it, at all hazards; that soldiers, who entered the ranks, should forget the habits of social life, and be willing and prepared to go wherever duty and danger called; such he wanted, and none others would he have.

Influenced by these, and other weighty considerations, which were daily disclosed; and from a conviction which he felt was not founded upon light considerations—that the country, without it, could not be saved; he brought to the view of the legislature the propriety and necessity of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. They proceeded slowly to the investigation, and were deliberating, with great caution, upon their right and power to adopt such a measure; when the general, sensible that procrastination was dangerous, and might defeat the objects intended to be answered, suspended their councils, by declaring the city and environs of New Orleans under martial law.

All persons entering the city were required, immediately, to report themselves to the adjutant general; and on failing to do so, to be arrested, and held for examination. None were to depart from it, or be suffered to pass beyond the chain of sentinels, but by permission from the commanding general, or one of the staff: nor was any vessel or craft to be permitted to sail on the river, or the lakes, but by the same authority, or a passport signed by the commander of the naval forces.

The lamps were to be extinguished at nine o'clock at night; after which time, all persons found in the streets, or from their respective homes, without per-

mission, in writing, signed as above, were to be arrested, as spies, and detained for examination.

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At a crisis so important, and from a persuasion that the country, in its menaced situation, could not be saved, by the exercise of any ordinary powers, he believed it best to adopt a course that should be efficient, even if it partially endangered the rights and privileges of the citizen. He proclaimed martial law, believing necessity and policy required it: "Under a solemn conviction that the country, committed to his care, could by such a measure alone be saved from utter ruin; and from a religious belief, that he was performing the most important and sacred duty. By it, he intended to supersede such civil powers, as, in their operation, interfered with those he was obliged to exercise. He thought that, at such a moment, constitutional forms should be suspended, for the preservation of constitutional rights; and that there could be no question, whether it were better to depart, for a moment, from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or have them wrested from us forever."

This rigid course, however, was by no means well received. Whether it had for its object good or evil, whether springing from necessity, or from a spirit of oppression in its author, with many, was not a material question: it was sufficient for them to consider it an infraction of the law, to excite their warmest opposition; whilst the *necessitas rei* afforded no substantial argument, to induce a conviction of its propriety. Whether the civil should yield to military law, or which should have control, with those whose anxious wishes were for the safety of the state, was not

CHAP. a matter of deep concern ; but to busy politicians, and  
 VIII. lukewarm patriots, it opened a field for investigation ;

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and many had arguments at command, to prove it an usurpation of power, an outrage upon government, and a violation of the constitution. Pending the invasion, and while affairs of major importance impended, no occasion was presented of testing its correctness ; but so soon as the enemy had retired, and before it was ascertained, whether, at some more fortunate and less guarded point, they might not return, to renew those efforts which had so lately failed, Dominick A. Hall, judge of the United States court for this district, determined to wage a war of authority, and have it decided, if, in any event, the civil power could be deprived of supremacy. Jackson believed his time of too much importance, at so momentous a period, to be wasted in the discussion of civil matters. Giving it, therefore, the attention he believed its officiousness merited, instead of obeying the command, he arrested and ordered him to leave the city. Peace being presently restored, and danger over, the judge renewed the contest ; and, causing the general to appear before him, on a process of contempt, for detaining and refusing to obey a writ of habeas corpus, which had been directed to him, amerced him in a fine of a thousand dollars. How far he was actuated by correct motives, in exclusion to those feelings which sometimes estrange the judgment, his own conscience can determine ; and how far his proceedings were fair and liberal, will appear hereafter, when, in proper order, we shall be brought to examine this prosecution. For the present, we are confident, that if ever there were a case,

that could justify or excuse a departure from the law, its features were not stronger than those which influenced general Jackson, on the present occasion, in suspending the rights of the citizens. If judge Hall were impelled to the course he took, in defence of the violated dignity of the constitution, and to protect the rights of a government, whose judicial powers he represented, whether right or wrong, he deserves not censure; although it might be well replied, that a fairer and more glorious opportunity of showing his devotedness to his country had just passed, when he might truly have aided in defence of her honour, nor left even room for his motives to have been unfairly appreciated.

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This strong and efficient measure had not been resorted to, from the mere anticipation of danger; already, sufficient causes existed; and intrigue and stratagem were busily winding their way into our camp: they were either to be put down, or every hope of opposition or successful resistance abandoned. England, never at a loss for varnished statements, to give plausibility to her views, not only held forth the idea that she had come to restore the inhabitants to higher privileges than they enjoyed, but, to render the delusion still more complete, through her emissaries, propagated the belief, that, as the friend of Spain, she had come to restore West Florida to its rightful owner, and the citizens to their lawful sovereign. Composed, as our army at this time was, of heterogeneous materials, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and natives, it required constant efforts, to keep alive excitement, and ward off despondency. Learning the rumours that had been spread among them, and fear-

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ing they might have an injurious effect, Jackson immediately circulated an address, in which he sought to preserve their ardour and devotion to their country.

"Believe not," he observed, "that the threatened invasion is with a view to restore the country to Spain. It is founded in design, and a supposition that you would be willing to return to your ancient government. Listen not to such incredible tales: your government is at peace with Spain. It is your vital enemy, the common enemy of mankind, the highway robber of the world, that has sent his hirelings among you, to put you from your guard, that you may fall an easier prey. Then look to your liberty, your property, the chastity of your wives and daughters. Take a retrospect of the conduct of the British army, at Hampton, and at other places where it has entered our country: and every bosom, which glows with patriotism and virtue, will be inspired with indignation, and pant for the arrival of the hour, when we shall meet and revenge those outrages against the laws of civilization and humanity."

With the exception of the Kentucky troops, which were yet absent, all the forces expected had arrived. General Carroll had reached Coffee's encampment four miles above the city, on the 21st, and had immediately reported to the commanding general. The officers were busily engaged in drilling, manœuvring, and organizing the troops, and in having every thing ready for action, the moment it should become necessary. No doubt was entertained, but the British would be able to effect a landing at some point; the principal thing to be guarded against was not to pre-



vent it ; for, since the loss of the gun boats, any attempt of this kind could only be regarded as hopeless : but, by preserving a constant vigilance, and thereby having the earliest intelligence of their approach, they might be met at the very threshold, and opposed. Small guard boats were constantly plying on the lakes, to watch, and give information of every movement. Some of these had come in, late on the evening of the 22d, and reported that all was quiet, and that no unfavourable appearance portended in that direction. With such vigilance, constantly exercised, it is truly astonishing that the enemy should have effected an invasion, and succeeded in disembarking so large a force, without the slightest intimation being had, until they were accidentally discovered emerging from the swamp and woods, about seven miles below the town : why it so happened, traitors may conjecture, although the truth is yet unknown. The general impression is, that it was through information given by a small party of Spanish fishermen, that so secret a disembarkation was effected. Several of them had settled at the mouth of this bayou, and supported themselves by fish they caught, and vended in the market at New Orleans. Obstructions, as we have already stated, had been ordered to be made on every inlet, and the Louisiana militia been detached for that purpose. This place had not received the attention its importance merited : nor was it until the 22d, that general Villery, charged with the execution of this order, had placed here a small handful of men. Towards day, the enemy, silently proceeding up the bayou, landed, and succeeded in capturing the whole of this party,

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British  
effect a  
landing,  
and ar-  
rive on  
the Mis-  
sissippi.

CHAP. but two, who, fleeing to the swamp, endeavoured to  
VIII. reach the city ; but, owing to the thick undergrowth,  
and briars, which rendered it almost impervious, they  
1814. did not arrive, until after the enemy had reached the  
banks of the Mississippi, and been discovered.

Bayou Bienvenu, through which the landing was made, is an arm of considerable width, stretching towards the Mississippi, from lake Borgne, and about fifteen miles south-east of New Orleans. It had been reported to general Jackson, on the 23d, that, on the day before, several strange sail had been descried, off Terre au Bœuf. To ascertain correctly the truth of the statement, majors Tatum and Latour, topographical engineers, had been sent off, with orders to proceed in that direction, and learn if any thing were attempting there. It was towards noon, of the 23d, when they started. Approaching general Villery's plantation, and perceiving, at a distance, soldiers, and persons fleeing hastily away, they at once supposed the enemy had arrived. What, however, was but surmise, was presently, and on nearer observation, rendered certain ; and it was now no longer a doubt, but that the British had landed, in considerable force, and had actually gained, unobserved, the house of general Villery, on the bank of the Mississippi, where they had surprised, and made prisoners, a company of militia, there posted.

Major Tatum, hastening back, announced his discovery. Preparations to act were immediately made by general Jackson. The signal guns were fired, and expresses sent forward, to concentrate the forces ; resolving, that night, to meet the invaders, and try his own and their firmness.

## CHAPTER IX.

General Jackson concentrates his forces, and marches to fight the enemy.—Alarms of the city.—Mode of attack, and battle of the 23d of December.—British reinforcements arrive during the action.—Arrival of general Carroll's division.—Our army retires from the field.—Effects of this battle.—Jackson establishes a line of defence.—General Morgan is ordered on the right bank of the Mississippi.—Destruction and loss of the Caroline schooner.—Battle of the 28th December.—Conduct of the legislature of Louisiana; their deliberations suspended.—Scarcity of arms, in the American camp.

THE hour to test the bravery of his troops had now arrived. The approach of the enemy, flushed with the hope of easy victory, was announced to Jackson, a little after one o'clock in the afternoon. There were too many reasons, assuring him of the necessity of acting speedily, to hesitate a moment, on the course proper to be pursued. Could he assail them, and obtain even a partial advantage, it might be beneficial—it might arrest disaffection—buoy up the despondent—determine the wavering, and bring within his reach resources for to-morrow, which might wholly fail, should fear once take possession of the public mind. It was a moment, too, of all others, most propitious to success. He well knew the greater part of his troops were inured to marching and fatigue, while

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CHAP. those opposed to him were just landed from a long  
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voyage, and were as yet without activity, and unfitted for bodily exertion. Moreover, a part only might have arrived from the shipping, while the remainder would be certainly disembarked as early as possible. These circumstances seemed to augment, in his behalf, the chances of victory, if now sought ; but if deferred, they might, in a little time, disappear. He resolved, at all events, to march, and that night give them battle. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to proceed immediately from their encampment, and join him, with all haste. Although four miles above, they arrived in the city, in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, the Louisiana troops, and colonel Hinds' dragoons, constituted the strength of his army, which could be carried into action against an enemy, whose numbers, at this time, could only be conjectured. It was thought advisable to leave Carroll and his division behind ; for notwithstanding there was no correct information of the force landed through Villery's canal, yet Jackson feared that this might be only a feint, intended to divert his attention, while, in all probability, a much stronger and more numerous division, having already gained some point, higher on the lake, might, by advancing in his absence, gain his rear, and succeed in their views. Uncertain of their movements, it was essential he should be prepared for the worst, and, by different dispositions of his troops, be ready to resist, in whatever quarter he might be assailed. Carroll, therefore, at the head of his division, and governor Claiborne, with the state militia, were directed to

take post on the Gentilly road, leading from Chef CHAP.  
Mentour to New Orleans, and to defend it to the last IX.  
extremity.

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Alarm pervaded the city. The marching and countermarching of the troops—the proximity of the enemy—with the approaching contest, and uncertainty of the issue, had excited a general fear. Already might the British be on their way, and at hand, before the necessary arrangements were made to oppose them. To prevent this, colonel Hayne, with two companies of riflemen, and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward, to reconnoitre their camp, learn their position and their numbers; and, in the event they should be found advancing, to harass and oppose them at every step, until the main body should arrive.

Every thing being ready, general Jackson commenced his march, to meet and fight the veteran troops of England. An inconsiderable circumstance, at this moment, evinced what unlimited confidence was reposed in his skill and bravery. As his troops were marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams and cries of innumerable females, who had collected on the way, and seemed to apprehend the worst of consequences. Feeling for their distresses, and anxious to quiet them, he directed Mr. Livingston to address them in the French language. "Say to them," said he, "not to be alarmed: the enemy shall never reach the city." It operated like an electric shock. To know that he himself was not apprehensive of a fatal result, inspired them with altered feelings; sorrow was ended, and their grief converted into hope and confidence.

CHAP. IX. The general arrived in view of the enemy, a little

before dark. Having previously ascertained, from colonel Hayne, their position, and that their strength was about two thousand men,\* he immediately concerted the mode of attack, and hastened to execute it.

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Mode of  
attack.

Commodore Patterson, commanding the naval forces, with captain Henly, on board the *Caroline*, had been directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon them from the guns of the schooner; which being the signal for attack, was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The fires from their camp disclosed their position, and showed their encampment, formed with their left resting on the river, and extending at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, colonel Hinds' dragoons, and captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and, by a circuitous route, avoid their piquets, and endeavour to turn their right wing; having succeeded in this, to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the *Caroline*. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, Plauche's city volunteers, Daquin's coloured troops, the artillery under lieutenant Spoots, supported by a company of marines, commanded by colonel M'Kee, advanced along the bank of the Mississippi, and were commanded by Jackson in person.

\* This opinion, as it afterwards appeared, was incorrect. Their number, at the commencement of the action, was three thousand, which was shortly afterwards increased by additional forces.

General Coffee had advanced beyond their piquets, next the swamp, and nearly reached the point to which he was ordered, when a broadside from the Caroline announced the battle begun. Patterson had proceeded slowly, giving time, as he believed, for the execution of those arrangements contemplated on the shore. So sanguine had the British been in the belief that they would be kindly received, and little opposition attempted, that the Caroline floated by the sentinels, and anchored before their camp, without any kind of molestation. On passing the front piquet, she was hailed, in a low tone of voice, but returning no answer, no further question was made. This, added to some other attendant circumstances, confirmed the opinion that they believed her a vessel laden with provisions, which had been sent out from New Orleans, and was intended for them. Having reached what, from their fires, appeared to be the centre of their encampment, her anchors were cast, and her character and business disclosed from her guns. So unexpected an attack produced a momentary confusion; but, recovering, they answered her by a discharge of musketry, and flight of congreve rockets, which passed without injury, while her grape and canister were pouring destructively on them. To take away the certainty of aim afforded by the light of their fires, these were immediately extinguished, and they retired two or three hundred yards into the open field, if not out of the reach of the cannon, at least to a distance, where, by the darkness of the night, they would be protected.

Battle of  
the 23d  
Decem-  
ber.

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Coffee had dismounted his men, and turned his horses loose, at a large ditch, next the swamp, in the rear of Lorond's plantation, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line, when the signal from the Caroline reached him. He directly wheeled his columns in, and, extending his line parallel with the river, moved towards their camp. He had scarcely advanced more than an hundred yards, when he received a heavy fire, from a line formed in his front : this, to him, was an unexpected circumstance, as he supposed the enemy lying principally at a distance, and that the only opposition he should meet, until he approached towards the levee,\* would be from their advanced guards. The circumstance of his coming up with them so soon, was owing to the severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled them to abandon their camp, and form without her reach. The moon shone, but reflected her light too feebly to discover objects at a distance. The only chance, therefore, of producing certain injury, with this kind of force, which consisted chiefly of riflemen, was not to venture at random, but only to discharge their pieces when there should be a certainty of felling the object. This order being given, the line pressed on, and, having gained a position near enough to distinguish, a general fire was given ; it was too severe and destructive to be withstood ; the enemy gave way, and retreated,—rallied,—formed,—were charged, and again retreated. These gallant men, led by their brave commander, urged

\* Embankments formed along the river, to confine it in its bed.



fearelessly on, and drove them from every position they attempted to maintain. Their general was under no necessity to encourage and allure them to deeds of valour : his own example was sufficient to excite them. Always in the midst, he displayed a coolness and disregard of danger, calling to his troops, that they had often said they could fight—now was the time to prove it.

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The enemy, driven back by the resolute firmness and ardour of their assailants, had now reached a grove of orange trees, with a ditch running past it, protected by a fence on the margin. It was a favourable position, promising security, and was occupied with a confidence they could not be forced to yield it. Coffee's dauntless yeomanry, strengthened in their hopes of success, moved on, nor discovered the advantages against them, until a fire from the whole British line shewed their defence. A momentary check was given ; but, gathering fresh ardour, they charged across the ditch, gave a deadly and destructive fire, and forced them to retire. Their retreat continued, until, gaining a similar position, they made another stand, and were again driven from it, with considerable loss.

Thus the battle raged, on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river ; here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted : for half an hour, the conflict was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground ; but at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking refuge behind the levee, which afforded a breast-work,

CHAP. and protected them from the fatal fire of our riflemen.

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Coffee, unacquainted with their position, for the darkness had greatly increased, already contemplated again to charge them; but major Moulton, who had discovered their situation, assured him it was too hazardous; that they could be driven no further, and would, from the point they occupied, resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable loss, any attempt to dislodge them. The place of their retirement was covered, in front, by a strong bank, which had been extended into the field, to keep out the river, in consequence of the first being encroached upon, and undermined in several places: the old one, however, was still entire, in many parts, and gave them security from the broadsides of the schooner, which lay off at some distance. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer to the river, he might greatly expose himself to the fire of the *Caroline*, which was yet spiritedly maintaining the conflict, induced Coffee to retire until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.

During this time, the right wing, under Jackson, was no less prompt and active. A detachment of artillery, under lieutenant Spotts, supported by sixty marines, formed the advance, and had moved down the road, next the levee. On their left was the seventh regiment of infantry, led by major Piere. The forty-fourth, commanded by major Baker, was formed on the extreme left; while Plauche's and Daquin's battalions of city guards, were directed to be posted in the centre, between the seventh and forty-fourth. The general had ordered colonel Ross, who, during the

might, acted in the capacity of brigadier general, on hearing the signal from the Caroline, to move off by heads of companies, and, having reached the enemy's line, to deploy, and seek to unite the left wing with the right of general Coffee's. This order was omitted to be executed; and the consequence was an early introduction of confusion in the ranks, whereby was prevented the important design of uniting the two divisions.

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Confusion  
of the  
right  
wing of  
our army.

Instead of marching in column from the first position, the troops were wheeled into an extended line, and moved off in this order, except the seventh regiment, next the person of the general, which advanced agreeably to the instructions that had been given. Having sufficient ground to form on at first, no inconvenience was at the moment sustained: but this advantage presently failing, the centre was compressed, and forced in the rear. The river, from where they were, gradually inclined to the left; and diminished the space originally possessed: farther in, stood Lorond's house, surrounded by a grove of clustered orange trees: this pressing the left, and the river the right wing to the centre, formed a curve, which threw the principal part of Plauche's and Daquin's battalions without the line. This might have been remedied, but for the briskness of the advance, and the darkness of the night. A heavy fire from behind a fence, immediately before them, had brought the enemy to view. Acting in obedience to their orders, not to waste their ammunition at random, our troops had pressed forward against the opposition in their front, and thereby threw those battalions in the rear.

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A fog rising from the river, which, added to the smoke from the guns, was covering the plain,—gradually diminishing the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increasing the darkness of the night: no clue was left, to tell how or where the enemy were situated. There was no alternative but to move on, in the direction of their fire, which subjected the assailants to material disadvantages. The British, driven from their first position, had retired back, and occupied another, behind a deep ditch, that ran out of the Mississippi towards the swamp, on the top of which was a high fence. Here, strengthened by increased numbers, they again opposed the approach of our troops. Having waited, until they had come sufficiently near to be discovered, they discharged, from their fastnesses, a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly our battery was formed, and poured destructively upon them; while the infantry, coming up, aided in the conflict, which was for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment, a brisk sally was made upon our advance, when the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving away. The adjutant general, and colonels Piatt and Chotard, with a part of the seventh, hastening to their support, drove the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the advantages they derived from their position, ordered their line to be charged. It was obeyed with cheerfulness, and executed with promptness. Pressing on, our troops gained the ditch, and, pouring across it a well-aimed fire, compelled them to retreat, and abandon their entrenchment. The plain, on which they were contending, was cut to

pieces, by races from the river, to convey the water. CHAP.  
They were, therefore, very soon enabled to take another situation, equally favourable with the one whence IX.  
they had been just driven, where they formed for battle, and, for some time, gallantly maintained themselves; but were at length forced to yield it, and retreat. 1814.

The enemy, discovering the firm and obstinate resistance made by the right wing of the American army, and perhaps presuming its principal strength was posted on the road, formed the intention of attacking violently the left. Obliquing for this purpose, an attempt was made to turn it. At this moment, Daquin's and the battalion of city guards were marched up, and, being formed on the left of the forty-fourth, met and repulsed them.

The time of the contest prevented many of those benefits which might have been derived from the artillery. The blaze of the enemy's musketry was the only light by which they could judge of their positions, or be capable of taking their own to advantage; yet, notwithstanding, it greatly annoyed them, whenever it could be brought to bear. Directed by lieutenant Spotts, a vigilant and skilful officer, with men to aid him, who looked to nothing but a zealous discharge of their duty, it rendered the most essential and important services.

The enemy had been thrice assailed and beaten, and made to yield their ground for nearly a mile. They had now retired, and, if found, were to be again sought for through the dark. The general determined to halt, and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously

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to waging the battle further, for as yet no communication had passed between them. He entertained no doubt, from the brisk firing in that direction, but that he had been warmly engaged; but this had now nearly subsided; the Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations; it being only occasionally, that the noise of her guns disclosed the little opportunity she possessed of acting efficiently.

The express despatched to general Jackson, from the left wing, having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained, no further. The darkness of the night,—the confusion into which his own division had been thrown, and a similar one on the part of Coffee, all pointed to the necessity of retiring from the field, and abandoning the contest. The bravery and firmness already displayed by his troops, had induced the belief, that by pressing on he might capture the whole British army: at any rate, he considered it but a game of venture and hazard, which, if unsuccessful, could not occasion his own defeat. If, incompetent to its execution, superior numbers or superior discipline should compel him to recede from the effort, he well knew the enemy would not have temerity enough to attempt pursuit. The extreme darkness—their entire ignorance of the situation of the country, and an apprehension lest their forces might be greatly outnumbered, afforded him sufficient reasons, on which to ground a belief, that although beaten from his purpose, he would yet have it in his power to retire in safety: but on the arrival of the express from general Coffee, learning the strong position to which the enemy had retired, and that a part of the left

wing had been detached, and were in all probability captured, he determined to retire from the contest, nor attempt a further prosecution of his successes. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Lorond's plantation, where the line had been first formed : and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to be marched.

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The last charge made by the left wing, had separated, from the main body, colonels Dyer and Gibson, with two hundred men, and captain Beal's company of riflemen. What might be their fate ; whether captured, or had effected their retreat, was, at this time, altogether uncertain ; be that as it might, Coffee's command was thereby considerably weakened.

Colonel Dyer, who commanded the extreme left, on clearing the grove, after the enemy had retired, was marching in the direction he expected to find general Coffee ; he very soon discovered a force in front, and hastened towards it ; arriving within a short distance, he was hailed, ordered to stop, and report to whom he belonged : Dyer and Gibson advanced, and stated they were of Coffee's brigade ; by this time they had arrived within a short distance of the line, and perceiving the name of their brigade was not understood, their apprehensions were awakened, lest it might be a detachment of the enemy ; in this opinion they were immediately confirmed, and wheeling to return, were fired on and pursued. Gibson had scarcely started when he fell ; before he could recover, a soldier, quicker than the rest, had reached him, and pinned him to the ground with his bayonet ; fortunately the stab had but slightly wounded him,

CHAP. and he was only held by his clothes: thus pinioned,  
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and others briskly advancing, but a moment was left for deliberation;—making a violent exertion, and springing on his feet, he threw his assailant to the ground, and made good his retreat. Colonel Dyer had retreated about fifty yards, when his horse dropped dead; entangled in the fall, and slightly wounded in the thigh, there was little prospect of relief, for the enemy were briskly advancing: his men being near at hand, he ordered a fire, which, checking their approach, enabled him to escape. Being now at the head of his command,—perceiving an enemy in a direction he had not expected, and uncertain how or where he might find general Coffee, he determined to seek him to the right, and moving on with his little band, forced his way through the enemy's lines, with a loss of sixty-three of his men, who were killed and taken. Captain Beal, with equal bravery, charged through the enemy, carrying off some prisoners, and losing several of his own company.

British reinforcement arrives.

This reinforcement of the British had arrived from Bayou Bienvenu, after night. The boats that had landed the first detachment, had proceeded back to the shipping, and having returned, were on their way up the bayou, when they heard the guns of the Caroline; moving hastily on to the assistance of those who had debarked before them, they reached the shore, and knowing nothing of the situation of the two armies, came up in the rear of general Coffee's brigade. Coming in contact with colonel Dyer and captain Beal, they filed off to the left, and reached the British camp.



This part of Coffee's brigade, unable to unite with, or find him, retired where they had first formed, and joined colonel Hinds' dragoons, which had remained on the ground where the troops had first dismounted, to cover their retreat, in the event it became necessary.

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Jackson had gone into this battle with a confidence of success; and his arrangements were such as would have ensured it, even to a much greater extent, but for the intervention of circumstances that were not, and could not be foreseen. The Caroline had given her signals, and commenced the battle, a little too early, before Coffee had reached and taken his position, and before every thing was fully in readiness, to attain the objects designed: but it was chiefly owing to the confusion introduced at first into the ranks, which checked the rapidity of his advance,—gave the enemy time for preparation, and prevented his division from uniting with the right wing of general Coffee's brigade.

Colonel Hinds, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, was not brought into action during the night. Interspersed as the plain was, with innumerable ditches, cut in different directions, it was impossible that cavalry could act to any kind of advantage: they were now formed in advance, to watch, until morning, the movements of the enemy.

From the experiment just made, Jackson believed it would be in his power, on renewing the attack, to capture the enemy: he concluded, therefore, to call down general Carroll with his division, and assail him again at the dawn of day. Directing governor Claiborne to remain at his post, with the Louisiana militia,

CHAP. for the defence of the Gentilly road, he despatched an  
IX. order to Carroll, in the event there had been no ap-  
1814. pearance of a force during the night, in the direction  
of Chef Menteur, to hasten and join him with his com-  
mand; which order was executed by one o'clock in  
the morning. Previously, however, to his arrival, a  
different conclusion was taken. From prisoners who  
Arrival of  
general  
Carroll's  
division. had been brought in, and some deserters, it was ascer-  
tained, that the strength of the enemy during the bat-  
tle was four thousand, and, with the reinforcements  
which had reached them, after its commencement, it  
was then not less than six :—at any rate, it exceeded  
his own greatly, even after the Tennessee division  
should be added. Although very decided advantages  
had been obtained, yet they had been procured under  
circumstances that might be wholly lost, in a contest  
waged in open day, between forces so disproportioned,  
and by undisciplined troops against veteran soldiers.  
Jackson well knew it was incumbent upon him, to act  
a part entirely defensive: should the attempt to gain  
and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties  
would arise, which might be avoided, so long as  
he could hold the enemy in check, and halt him  
in his designs. Prompted by these considerations,  
—that it was important to pursue a course calculated  
to assure safety; and believing it attainable in no way  
so effectually, as in occupying some point, and by the  
strength he might give it, make up for the inferiority of  
his numbers; he determined to forbear all further efforts,  
until he should more certainly discover the views of the  
enemy, and until the Kentucky troops should reach him.

which had not yet arrived. Pursuing this idea, at four o'clock, having ordered colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then leaving, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch, that ran at right angles from the river. There were two circumstances, strongly recommending the importance of this place: the swamp, which, from the high lands at Baton Rouge, skirted the river at irregular distances, and was in many places almost impervious, had approached here within four hundred yards of the Mississippi, and hence, from the narrowness of the pass, was more easily to be defended; added to which, there was a deep canal, whence the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already formed a tolerable breast-work. Behind this, his troops were formed, and proper measures adopted for increasing its strength, with a determination never to abandon it; but there to resist to the last, and defend those rights which were sought to be outraged and destroyed.

The soldier who has stood the shock of battle, and knows what slight circumstances often produce decided advantages, will be able, properly, to appreciate the events of this night. Although the dreadful carnage of the 8th of January, hereafter to be told, was in fact the finishing blow, that struck down the towering hopes of those invaders, and put an end to the contest; yet in the battle of the 23d, is to be found, abundant cause, why success resulted to our arms, and safety was given to the country. The British had reached the Mississippi without the fire of a gun, and had encamped upon its banks, as composedly, as if they had been seated on their own soil, and at a dis-

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American  
army re-  
tires from  
the field.

CHAP. tance from all danger. These were circumstances  
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awakening a belief that they expected little opposition, were certain of success, and that the troops with whom they were to contend, would scarcely venture to resist them : resting thus confidently, they would the next day have moved forward, and succeeded in the accomplishment of their designs. Jackson, convinced that an early impression was essential to ultimate success, had resolved to assail them at the moment of their landing, and "attack them in their first position : " we have, therefore, seen him, with a force, inferior by one half, to that of the enemy, at an unexpected moment, break into their camp, and with his undisciplined yeomanry, drive before him the pride of Europe. It was an event that could not fail to destroy all previous theories, and establish a conclusion, our enemy had not before formed, that they were contending against valour inferior to none they had seen ;—before which their own bravery had not stood, nor their skill availed them : it had the effect of satisfying them, that the quantity and kind of troops, it was in his power to wield, must be different from what had been represented ; for, much as they had heard of the courage of the man, they could not suppose, that a general, having a country to defend, and a reputation to preserve, would venture to attack, on their own chosen ground, a greatly superior army, and one, which, by the numerous victories achieved, had already acquired a fame in arms ; they were convinced that his force must greatly surpass what they had expected, and be composed of materials, different from what they had imagined.

The American troops, which were actually engaged, did not amount to two thousand men : they consisted of part of

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|                                              |     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|
| Coffee's brigade and captain Beal's company, | 648 |
| The 7th and 44th regiments,                  | 763 |
| Company of marines and artillery,            | 82  |
| Plauche's and Daquin's battalions,           | 488 |
| And the Mississippi dragoons under colonel   | 186 |
| Hinds, not in the action,                    |     |

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which for one hour maintained a severe conflict, with a force of four or five thousand, and retired in safety from the ground, with the loss of but twenty four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy four made prisoners ; while the killed, wounded, and prisoners, of the enemy, were not less than four hundred.

Our officers and soldiers executed every order with promptness, and nobly sustained their country's character. Lieutenant colonel Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade, an officer on whom every reliance was placed, fell at his post, and at his duty : he had entered the service, and descended the river, with the volunteers, under general Jackson, in the winter of 1812—passed through all the hardships and difficulties of the Creek war, and had ever manifested a readiness to act when his country needed his services. Young,

\* Colonel Butler, adjutant general of the southern division, furnished the author with this statement, and vouched for its correctness.

CHAP. brave and skilful, he had already afforded evidences

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of a capacity, which might, in future, have become useful ; his exemplary conduct, both in civil and military life, acquired him a respect, that rendered his fall a subject of general regret. Lieutenant M'Lelland, a valuable young officer, of the 7th, was also among the number of the slain.

Coffee's brigade, during the action, imitating the example of their commander, bravely contended, and ably supported the character they had established. The unequal contest, in which they were engaged, never occurred to them ; nor for a moment checked the rapidity of their advance. Had the British known they were mere riflemen, without bayonets, a firm stand would have arrested their progress, and destruction or capture would have been the inevitable consequence ; but this circumstance being unknown, every charge they made was crowned with success, producing discomfiture, and routing and driving superior numbers before them. Officers, from the highest, to inferior grades, discharged what had been expected of them. Ensign Leach, of the 7th regiment, being wounded through the body, still remained at his post, and in the performance of his duty. Colonel Reuben Kemper, enterprising and self-collected, amidst the confusion introduced on the left wing, found himself at the head of a handful of men, detached from the main body, and in the midst of a party of the enemy ; never did any man better exemplify the truth of the position, that discretion is sometimes the better part of valour : to attempt resistance was idle, and could only eventuate in destruction ; with a mind unclouded by the

peril that surrounded him, he sought and procured his safety through stratagem. Calling to a group of soldiers who were near, he demanded where their regiment was; lost themselves, they were unable to answer: but taking him for one of their own officers, they followed, as they were ordered, to his own line, where they were made prisoners.

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The 7th regiment, commanded by major Piere, and the 44th, under major Baker, aided by major Butler, gallantly maintained the conflict—forced the enemy from every secure position he attempted to occupy, and drove him a mile from the first point of attack. Confiding in themselves, and their general, who was constantly with them, exposed to danger and in the thickest of the fight, inspiring by his ardour, and encouraging by his example, they advanced to the conflict, nor evinced a disposition to leave it, until the prudence of their commander directed them to retire.

From the violence of the assault already made, the fears of the British had been greatly excited; to keep their apprehensions alive was considered important, with a view partially to destroy the overweening confidence with which they had arrived, and compel them to act, for a time, upon the defensive. To effect this, general Coffee, with his brigade, was ordered down on the 24th, to unite with colonel Hinds, and make a show in the rear of Lacoste's plantation. The enemy, not yet recovered of the panic produced by the first assault, already believed it was in contemplation to urge another attack, and immediately formed to repel it; but Coffee having succeeded in recovering some of his horses, which were wander-

CHAP. ing along the sides of the swamp; and in regaining  
IX. part of the clothing his troops had lost, returned to the  
1814. line, leaving to be conjectured the objects of his movement.

The scanty supply of clothes and blankets, that remained to the soldiers, from their long and exposed marches, had been left where they dismounted to meet the enemy. Their numbers were too limited, and the strength of their opponents too well ascertained, for any part of their force to remain and take care of what was left behind: it was so essential to hasten on, reach their destination, and be ready to act, when the signals of the Caroline should announce their co-operation necessary, that no time was afforded them to secure their horses;—they were turned loose, and their recovery trusted entirely to chance. Although many were regained,—many were lost; while most of the men remained with but a single suit to encounter in the open field, and in swamps, covered with water, the hardships of camp, and the severity of winter. It is a circumstance which entitles them to much credit, that under privations so severely oppressive, complaints or murmurs were never heard. This state of things was not of long continuance. The story of their sufferings and misfortunes was no sooner known, than the legislature appropriated a sum of money for their relief, which was greatly increased, by subscriptions, in the city and neighbourhood. Materials being purchased, the ladies, with that Christian charity, and warmth of heart, characteristic of their sex, at once exerted themselves in removing their distresses: all their industry was called into action, and in a little



time, the suffering soldier was relieved. Such generous conduct, in assisting at a moment when so much needed; while it conferred on those females the highest honour, could not fail to nerve the arm of the brave, with new zeal, for the defence of their benefactresses. This distinguished mark of their patriotism and benevolence, is still remembered; and often as these valiant men recount the dangers they have passed, and with peculiar pride dwell on the mingled honours and hardships of the campaign, they breathe a sentiment of gratitude to those, who conferred upon them such distinguished marks of their kindness, and, by timely interference, alleviated their misfortunes.

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To present a check, and keep up a shew of resistance, detachments of light troops were occasionally kept in front of the line, assailing and harassing the enemy's advanced posts, whenever an opportunity was offered of acting to advantage. Every moment that could be gained, and every delay that could be extended to the enemy's attempts, to reach the city, was of the utmost importance. The works were rapidly progressing, and hourly increasing in strength. The militia of the state were every day arriving, and every day the prospect of successful opposition was brightening.

The enemy still remained at his first encampment. To be in readiness to repel an assault when attempted, the most active exertions were made on the 24th and 25th. The canal, covering the front of our line, was deepened and widened, and a strong mud wall formed of the earth, that had been originally thrown out. To prevent any approach until his system of defence

CHAP. ent quarter, would be attempted, produced exertions  
IX. to be able to defend at all points.

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The forts on the river, well supported with brave men, and heavy pieces of artillery, might, perhaps, deter their shipping from venturing up the Mississippi, and dispose them to seek some safer route, if any could be discovered. Through Pass Barrataria was best calculated for this purpose, where, in all probability, the effort might be made. The difficulty of ascending the Mississippi, from the rapidity of the current, its winding course, and the ample protection already given at St. Philip, Bourbon, and St. Leon, were circumstances to which it was not inferred the British were strangers: nor was it to be expected, that, with a knowledge of them, they would venture here the success of an enterprise on which so much depended. It was a more rational conjecture that they would seek a passage through Barrataria—proceed up on the right bank of the river, and gain a position, where, co-operating with the force on the east side, they might drive our troops from the line they had formed, and, at less hazard, succeed in the accomplishment of their designs. Major Reynolds was accordingly ordered thither, with instructions to place the bayous, emptying through this pass, in the best state of defence—to occupy and strengthen the island—to mount sufficient ordnance, and draw a chain, within cannon-shot, across, the more effectually to guard the route, and protect it from approach. Lafite, who had been heretofore promised a pardon for the outrages he had committed against the laws of the United States, and who had already shown a lively

zeal in behalf of his adopted country, was sent with **CHAP.**  
**Reynolds.** He was selected, because, from the proofs **IX.**  
already given, no doubt was entertained of his fidelity, **1814.**  
and because his knowledge of the geography, and precise situation of this section of the state, was remarkably correct: it was where he had constantly rendezvoused, during the time of cruising against the merchant vessels of Spain, under a commission, obtained at Cartagena, and where he had become perfectly acquainted with every inlet to the gulf, through which a passage could be effected.

With these arrangements; treason apart—all anxiously alive to the interest of their country, and disposed to protect her; there was little room to apprehend, or fear disaster. To use the general's own expression, on another occasion; "the surest defence, that seldom failed of success, was a rampart of high-minded and brave men." That there were some of this description with him, on whom he could safely rely, in moments of extreme peril, he well knew; but that there were many, strangers to him and danger; and who had never been called to act in those situations, where death, stalking in hideous round, appals and unnerves even the resolute, was equally certain: whether they would contend with manly firmness—support the cause in which they had embarked, and realize his anxious wishes on the subject, could be only known in the moment of conflict and trial, when, if disappointed in his expectations, the means of retrieving the evil would be fled, and every thing lost in the result.

CHAP. IX. 1814. As yet the enemy knew nothing of the position of Jackson. What was his situation—what was intended—whether offensive or defensive operations would be pursued, were circumstances on which they possessed no correct knowledge; still, their exertions, to have all things prepared, to urge their designs, whenever the moment for action should arrive, were unceasing. They had been constantly engaged, since their landing, in procuring from their shipping, every thing necessary to ulterior operations. A complete command on the lakes, and possession of a point on the margin, presented an uninterrupted ingress and egress, and afforded the opportunity of conveying what was wanted, in perfect safety to their camp. The height of the Mississippi, and the discharge of water, through the openings made in the levee, had given an increased depth to the canal, from which they had first debarked—enabled them to advance their boats much further, in the direction of their encampment, and to bring up, with greater convenience, their artillery, bombs and munitions. Thus engaged, during the first three days after their arrival; early on the morning of the 27th, a battery was discovered on the bank of the river, which had been thrown up during the preceding night, and on which were mounted several pieces of heavy ordnance; from it a fire was opened on the Caroline schooner, lying under the opposite shore.

After the battle of the 23d, in which this vessel had so effectually aided, she had passed to the opposite side of the river, where she had since lain. Her ser-

vices were too highly appreciated not to be again de-  
 sired, in the event the enemy should endeavour to ad-  
 vance. Her present situation was considered truly an  
 unsafe one, but it had been essayed in vain, to advance  
 her higher up the stream. No favourable breeze had  
 yet arisen to aid her in stemming the current; and  
 towing, and other remedies, had been already re-  
 sorted to, without success. Her safety might have  
 been ensured by floating her down under fort St. Leon;  
 though it was preferred, as a matter of policy, to  
 risk her where she was, still, hourly, calculating that a  
 favourable wind might relieve her, rather than by drop-  
 ping her with the current, lose those benefits, which,  
 against an advance of the enemy, she might so com-  
 pletely extend. Commodore Patterson had left her  
 on the 26th, by the orders of the commanding general,  
 when captain Henly made a further, but ineffectual  
 effort to force her up the current, near to the line, for  
 the double purpose of its defence and her own safety.

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These attempts to get her away, being discovered;  
 at daylight, on the morning of the 27th, a battery,  
 mounting five guns, opened upon her, discharging  
 bombs and red hot shot; it was spiritedly answered,  
 but without affecting the battery; there being but a  
 long twelve pounder that could reach. The second  
 fire had lodged a hot shot in her main hold, under her  
 cables, whence it could not be removed, and immedi-  
 ately set fire to the schooner. The shot, from the bat-  
 tery, were constantly taking effect, firing her in different  
 parts, and otherwise producing material injury; while  
 the blaze already kindled under her cables, was rapidly  
 extending its ravages. A well grounded apprehension,

CHAP. of her commander, that she could be no longer de-  
 IX. fended,—the flames bursting out in different parts, and  
 1814. fast increasing, induced a fear, lest the magazine  
 should be soon reached, and every thing destroyed.  
 One of his crew being killed, and six wounded, and  
 there being not the glimmering of hope that she could  
 be preserved, orders were given to abandon her. The  
 Schooner crew reached the shore, and in a short time afterwards  
 Caroline blown up. she blew up.

Although thus unexpectedly deprived of so material  
 a dependence, for successful defence, an opportunity  
 was soon presented, of using her brave crew to ad-  
 vantage. Gathering confidence, from what had been  
 just effected, the enemy left their encampment, and  
 moved in the direction of our line. Their numbers  
 had been increased, and major general Sir Edward  
 Packenham now commanded in person. Early on  
 Attack of the 28th December. the 28th, his columns commenced their advance to  
 storm our works. At the distance of half a mile,  
 their heavy artillery opened, and quantities of bombs,  
 balls and congreve rockets, were discharged. It was  
 a scene of terror and alarm, which they had probably  
 calculated would excite a panic in the minds of the  
 raw troops of our army, and make them surrender at  
 discretion, or abandon their strong hold. But our  
 soldiers had afforded abundant proof, that, whether dis-  
 ciplined or not, they well knew how to defend the ho-  
 nour and interests of their country; and sufficient  
 valour not to be alarmed at the reality—still less the  
 semblance of danger. Far from exciting their ap-  
 prehensions, and driving them from their ground, their  
 firmness still remained unchanged;—still was mani-

fested a determination not to tarnish a reputation they had hardly earned ; and which had become too dear, from the difficulties and dangers they had passed to acquire it, now tamely to be surrendered. These congreve rockets, though a kind of instrument of destruction, to which our troops unskilled in the science of desolating warfare, had been hitherto strangers, excited no other feeling than that which novelty inspires. At the moment, therefore, that the British, in different columns, were moving up; in all the pomp and parade of battle, preceded by these insignia of terror, more than danger, and were expecting to behold their "Yankee foes," tremblingly retire and flee before them, our batteries opened, and halted their advance.

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In addition to the two mounted on the works, on the 24th, three other heavy pieces of cannon, obtained from the navy department, had been formed along the line ; these opening on the enemy, checked their progress, and disclosed to them the hazard of the project they were on. Lieutenants Crawley and Norris, volunteered, and with the crew of the *Caroline* rendered important services, and maintained, at the guns they commanded, that firmness and decision, for which, on previous occasions, they had been so highly distinguished. They had been selected by the general, because of their superior knowledge in gunnery ; and, on this occasion, gave a further evidence of their skill and judgment, and of a disposition to act, in any situation where they could be serviceable. The line, which, from the labours bestowed on it, was daily strengthening, was not yet in a situation effectually to resist ;

CHAP. this deficiency, however, was well remedied by those  
IX. who were formed in its rear.

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From the river the greatest injury was done. Lieutenant Thompson, who commanded the Louisiana sloop, which lay nearly opposite the line of defence, no sooner discovered the columns approaching, than warping her around, he brought her starboard guns to bear, and forced them to retreat: but from their heavy artillery, the enemy maintained the conflict with great spirit, constantly discharging their bombs and rockets, for seven hours, when, unable to make a breach, or silence the sloop, they abandoned a contest, where few advantages seemed to be presented. The crew of this vessel was composed of new recruits, and discordant materials,—of soldiers, citizens and seamen; who, by the activity of their commander, were so well perfected in their duty, that they already managed their guns with the greatest precision and certainty of effect; and by three o'clock in the evening, with the aid of the land batteries, had completely silenced and drove back the enemy. Emboldened by the effect produced on the Caroline the day before; the furnaces of the enemy were put in operation, and numbers of hot shot thrown from a heavy piece, which was placed behind, and protected by the levee. An attempt was now made to carry it off, when that protection, heretofore had, being taken away, they were fairly exposed to our fire, and suffered greatly. In their endeavours to remove it, "I saw," says commodore Patterson, "distinctly, with the aid of a glass, several balls strike in the midst of the men who



were employed in dragging it away." In this engagement, commenced and waged for seven hours, we received little or no injury. The Louisiana sloop, against which the most violent exertions were made, had but a single man wounded, by the fragments of a shell, which bursted over her deck. Our entire loss did not exceed nine killed, and eight or ten wounded. The enemy, being more exposed, acting in the open field, and in range of our guns, suffered, from information afterwards procured, considerable injury ; at least, one hundred and twenty were killed and wounded.

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Among the killed, on our side, was colonel James Henderson, of the Tennessee militia. An advanced party of the British had, during the action, taken post behind a fence, that ran obliquely to, and not very remote from, our line. Henderson, with a detachment of two hundred men, was ordered to drive them from a position, whence they were effecting some injury, and greatly annoying our troops. Had he advanced in the manner directed, he would have been less exposed, and enabled more effectually to have secured the object intended ; but, misunderstanding the order, he proceeded in a different route, and fell a victim to his error. Instead of marching in the direction of the wood, and turning the enemy, which would have cut off their retreat, he proceeded in front, towards the river, leaving them in rear of the fence, and himself and his detachment open and exposed. His mistake being perceived from the line, he was called by the adjutant general, and directed to return ; but the noise of the waters, through which they were wading, prevented any communication. Having reached a knoll of dry

CHAP. ground, he formed, and attempted the execution of his

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order ; but soon fell, by a wound in the head. Deprived of their commander, and perceiving their situation hazardous and untenable, the detachment retreated to the line, with the loss of their colonel and five men.

While this advance was made, a column of the enemy was threatening an attack on our extreme left ; to frustrate the attempt, Coffee was ordered, with his riflemen, to hasten through the woods, and check their approach. The enemy, although greatly superior to him in numbers, no sooner discovered his movement, than they retired, and abandoned the attack they had previously meditated.

A supposed disaffection in New Orleans, and an enemy in front, were circumstances well calculated to excite unpleasant forebodings. General Jackson believed it necessary and essential to his security, while contending with avowed foes, not to be wholly inattentive to dangers lurking at home ; but, by guarding vigilantly, to be able to suppress any treasonable purpose, the moment it should be developed, and before it should have time to mature. Previously, therefore, to departing from the city, on the evening of the 23d, he had ordered major Butler, his aid, to remain with the guards, and be vigilant, that nothing transpired in his absence, calculated to operate injuriously. His fears, that there were many of the inhabitants, who felt no attachment to the government, and would not scruple to surrender, whenever, prompted by their interest, it should become necessary, has been already noticed. In this

belief, subsequent circumstances evinced there was no mistake, and showed that to his assiduity and energy is to be ascribed the cause the country was protected and saved. It is a fact, which was disclosed, on making an exchange of prisoners, that, in despite of all the efforts made to prevent it, the enemy were daily and constantly apprized of every thing that transpired in our camp. Every arrangement, and every change of position, was immediately communicated. "Nothing," remarked a British officer, at the close of the invasion, "was kept a secret from us, except your numbers : this, although diligently sought after, could never be procured."

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Between the 23d, and the attack on the 28th, to carry our line, major Butler, who still remained at his post in the city, was applied to by Fulwar Skipwith, at that time speaker of the senate, to ascertain the commanding general's views, provided he should be driven from his line of encampment, and compelled to retreat through the city ; would he, in that event, destroy it ? It was indeed a curious inquiry, from one who, having spent his life in serving his country, in different capacities, might better have understood the duty of a subordinate officer ; and that even if, from his situation, major Butler had so far acquired the confidence of his general, as to have become acquainted with his views and designs, he was not at liberty to divulge them, without acting criminally. On asking the cause of the inquiry, Mr. Skipwith replied, it was rumoured, and so understood, that if driven from his position, and made to retreat up the coast, general Jackson had it in contemplation to lay the city waste ;.

CHAP. the legislature desired information on this subject, that

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if such were his intentions, they might, by offering terms to the enemy, avert so great a calamity. That such a sentiment should be entertained by this body, was scarcely credible; yet a few days brought the certainty of it more fully to view, and shewed that they were already devising plans to ensure their safety, even at any sacrifice. While the general was hastening along the line, from ordering Coffee, as we have just observed, against a column of the British on the left, he was hailed by Mr. Duncan, one of his volunteer aids, and informed, that already it was agitated, secretly, by the members of the legislature, to offer terms of capitulation to the enemy, and proffer a surrender. Poised as was the result, the safety or fall of the city resting in uncertainty, although it was plainly to be perceived, that, with a strong army before them, no such resolution could be carried into effect; yet it might be productive of evil, and, in the end, bring about the most fatal consequences. Even the disclosure of such a wish might create parties—excite opposition in the army, and inspire the enemy with renewed confidence. The Tennessee forces, and Mississippi volunteers, it was not feared would be affected by the measure; but it might detach the Louisiana militia, and even extend itself to the ranks of the regular troops. Jackson was greatly incensed, that those whose safety he had so much at heart, should be seeking to mar his best exertions. He was, however, too warmly pressed, at the moment, to give it the attention its importance merited; but, availing himself of the first respite from the violence of the attack waged against

him, he apprized governor Claiborne of what he had heard;—ordered him closely to watch the conduct of the legislature, and the moment the project of offering a capitulation to the enemy should be fully disclosed, to arrest the members, and hold them subject to his further orders. The governor, in his zeal to execute the command, and from a fear of the consequences involved in such conduct, construed as imperative, an order which was merely contingent; and, placing an armed force at the door of the capitol, prevented the members from convening, and their schemes from maturing.

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We pretend not to ascribe this conduct to disaffection to the government, or treasonable motives. The impulse that produced it was, no doubt, interest,—a principle of the human mind which strongly sways, and often destroys, its best conclusions. The disparity of the two armies, in numbers, preparation, and discipline, had excited apprehension, and destroyed hope. If Jackson were driven back, and little else was looked for, rumour fixed his determination of devoting the city to destruction: but even if such were not his intention, the wrath and vengeance of the enemy would probably be in proportion, to the opposition they received. Although these considerations somewhat palliate, they do not justify. The government was represented, in the person of the commanding general, on whom rested all responsibility, and whose voice, on the subject of resistance or capitulation, should alone have been heard. In the field were persons who were enduring hardships, and straining every nerve, for the general safety. A few of the members of their own

CHAP. body, too, were there, who did not despond.\* Might  
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not patriotism, then, have admonished these men, honoured as they were with the confidence of the people, rather to have pursued a course, having for its object to keep alive excitement, than to have endeavoured to introduce fear and paralyze exertion. Such conduct, if productive of nothing worse, was well calculated to excite alarm. If the militia, who had been hastily drawn to the camp, and who were yet trembling for the safety of their families, had been told, that a few private men, of standing in society, had expressed their opinions, and declared resistance useless, it would, without doubt, have occasioned serious apprehensions; but, in a much greater degree would they be calculated to arise, when told that the members of the legislature, chosen to preside over the safety and destinies of the state, after due deliberation, had pronounced all attempts at successful opposition, vain and ineffectual.

Here was an additional reason why expedients should be devised, and every precaution adopted, to prevent any communication, by which the slightest intelligence should be had of our situation, already, indeed, sufficiently deplorable. Additional guards were posted along the swamp, on both sides of the Mississippi, to arrest all intercourse; while on the river, the common highway, watch boats were constantly plying during

\* Only four members of the legislature appeared in the field, to defend their country. We regret not knowing the name of one of these persons: those we have learned are, general Garrigue Flojack, major Eziel, and Mr. Bufort, who abandoned their civil duties for the field, where they afforded examples worthy of imitation.

the night, in different directions, so that a log could scarcely pass unperceived. Two flat-bottomed boats, on a dark night, were turned adrift above, to ascertain if vigilance were preserved, and whether there would be any chance of passing in safety to the British lines. The light boats discovered them on their passage, and on the alarm being given, they were opened upon by the Louisiana sloop, and the batteries on the shore, and in a few minutes were sunk. In spite, however, of every precaution, treason still discovered avenues through which to project and execute her nefarious plans, and which constantly afforded information to the enemy, carried to them, no doubt, by adventurous friends, who sought and effected their nightly passage through the deepest parts of the swamp, where it was impossible for sentinels to be kept.\*

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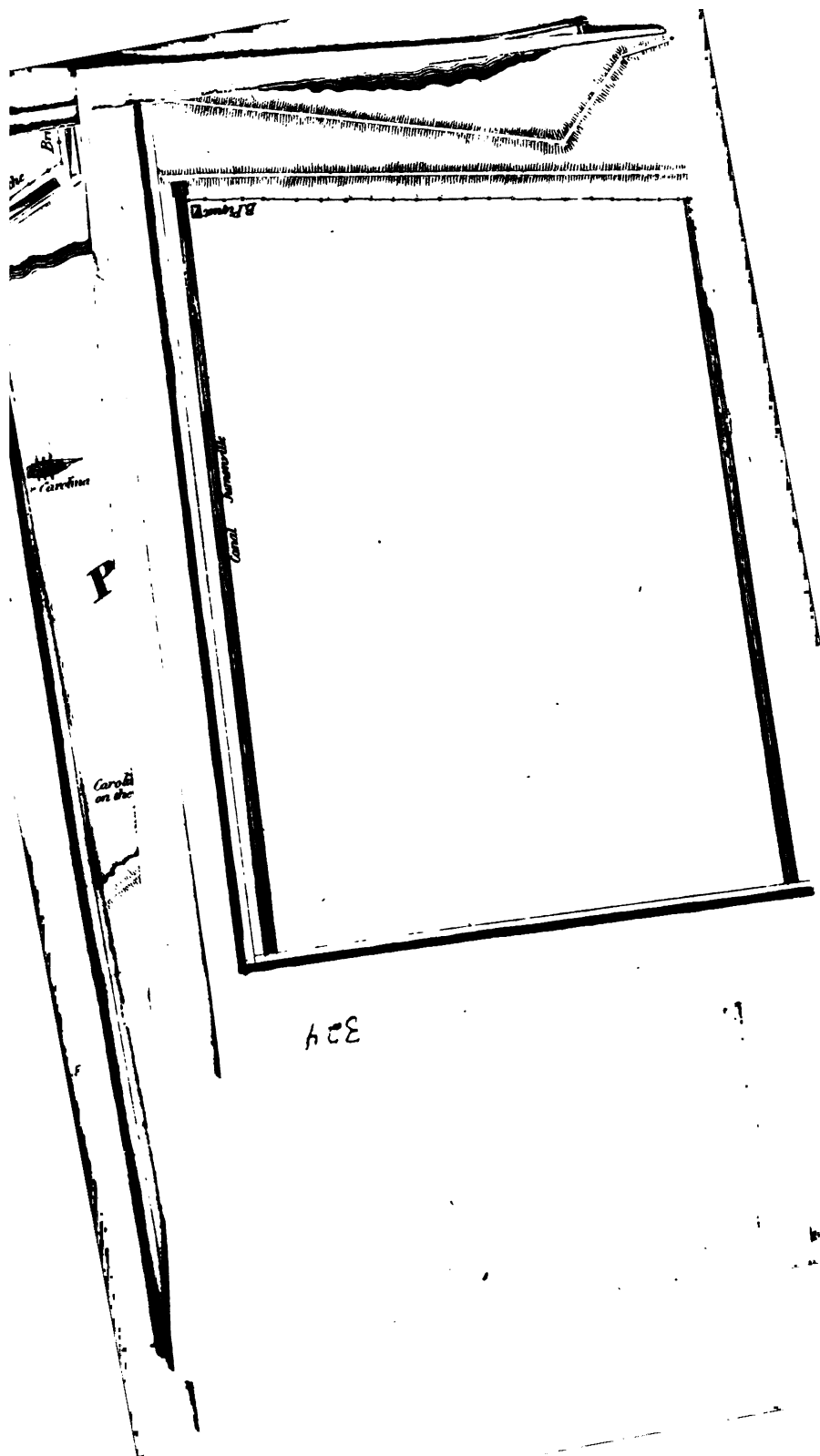
Much inconvenience was sustained for the want of arms, and much anxiety felt, lest the enemy, through their faithful adherents, might, on this subject also, obtain information; to prevent it, as far as possible, general Jackson endeavoured to conceal the strength and situation of his army, by suffering his reports to be seen by none, but himself and the adjutant general. Many of the troops in the field were supplied with common guns, which were of little service. The Kentucky troops, who were daily expected, were also understood to be badly provided with arms. Uncertain but the city might still contain many articles that would be serviceable, orders were issued to Mr. Girod, mayor of New Orleans, to search every store and house,

\* See note C.

CHAP. and take possession of all the muskets, bayonets,  
IX. spades, and axes he could find. Understanding too,  
1814. there were many young men, who, from different pre-  
texts, had not appeared in the field, he was instructed  
to obtain a register of every man in the city, under the  
age of fifty, that measures might be concerted for draw-  
ing forth those, who had hitherto appeared backward,  
in engaging in the pending contest.

Frequent light skirmishes, by advanced parties, without much effect on either side, were all that took place for several days. Colonel Hinds, at the head of the Mississippi dragoons, on the 30th, was ordered to dislodge a party of the enemy, who, under cover of a ditch that ran across the plain, were annoying our fatigue parties. In his advance, he was unexpectedly thrown between them, and became exposed to the fire of a line, which had hitherto lain concealed and unobserved. His collected conduct, and gallant deportment, gained him and his corps the approbation of the commanding general, and extricated him from the danger he was in. The enemy retired, and he returned to the line, with the loss of five of his men.





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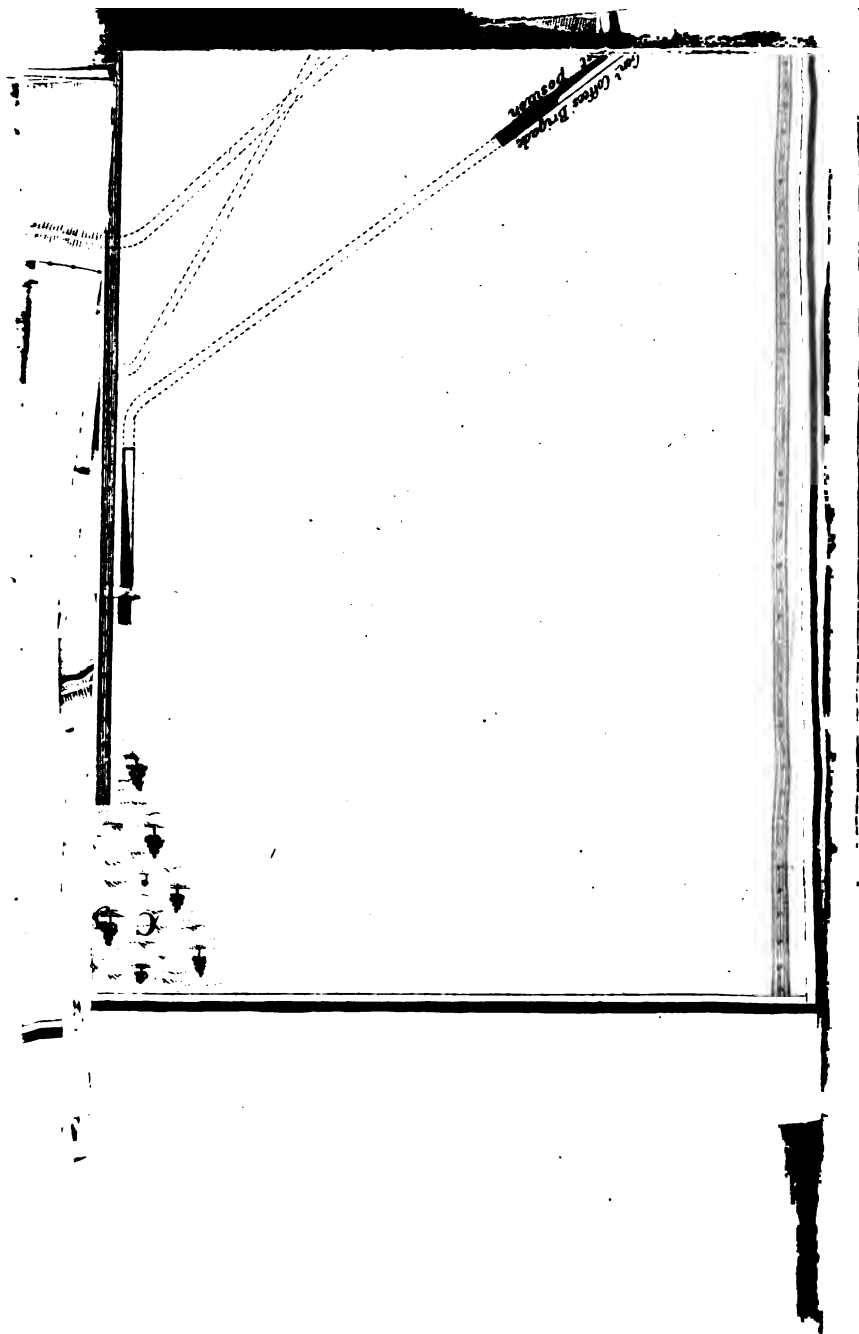
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## CHAPTER X.

Attack of the 1st of January.—General Jackson's line of defence.—Kentucky troops arrive at head quarters.—British army reinforced; their preparations for attack.—Battle of the 8th of January, and repulse of the enemy.—American redoubt carried, and retaken.—Colonel Thornton proceeds against general Morgan's line, and takes possession of it.—Letter of captain Wilkinson.—British watch word.—Generous conduct of the American soldiers.—Morgan's line regained.—General Lambert requests a suspension of hostilities.—Armistice concluded.—Execution of an American soldier, by the British.

THE British were encamped two miles below the American army, on a perfect plain, and in full view. Although foiled in their attempt to carry our works by the force of their batteries, on the 28th, they yet resolved upon another attack, and one which they believed would be more successful. Presuming their failure to have arisen from not having sufficiently strong batteries, and heavy ordnance, a more enlarged arrangement was resorted to, with a confidence of silencing opposition, and effecting such breaches in our entrenchment, as would enable their columns to pass, without being exposed to any considerable hazard. The interim between the 28th of December and 1st of January, was accordingly spent in preparing to execute their designs. Their boats had been despatched to

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CHAP. the shipping, and an additional supply of heavy cannon  
 X. landed through Bayou Bienvenu, whence they had first  
 debarked.

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During the night of the 31st, they were busily engaged. An impenetrable fog, next morning, which was not dispelled until nine o'clock, by concealing their purpose, aided them in the plans they were projecting, and gave time for the completion of their works. This having disappeared, several heavy batteries, at the distance of six hundred yards, mounting eighteen and twenty-four pound carronades, were presented to view. No sooner was it sufficiently clear to distinguish objects at a distance, than these were opened, and a tremendous burst of artillery commenced, accompanied with congreve rockets, that filled the air in all directions. Our troops, protected by a defence, which, from their constant labours and exertions, they believed to be impregnable, unmoved and undisturbed, maintained their ground, and, by their skilful management, in the end, succeeded in dismounting and silencing the guns of the enemy. The British, through the friendly interference of some disaffected citizens, having been apprized of the situation of the general's quarters,—that he dwelt in a house, at a small distance in the rear of his line, against it directed their first and principal efforts, with a view to destroy the commander. So great was the number of balls thrown, that, in a little while, its porticos were beaten down, and the building made a complete wreck. In this dishonourable design, they were, however, disappointed; for with Jackson it was a constant practice, on the first appearance of danger, not to wait

in his quarters, watching events, but instantly to proceed to the line, and be ready to form his arrangements as circumstances might require. Constantly in expectation of a charge, he was never absent from the post of danger; and thither he had this morning repaired, at the first sound of the cannon, to aid in defence, and inspire his troops with firmness. Our guns, along the line, now opened, to repel the assault, and a constant roar of cannon, on both sides, continued until nearly noon; when, by the superior skill of our engineers, the two batteries formed on the right, next the woods, were nearly beaten down, and many of the guns dismounted, broken, and rendered useless. That next the river still continued its fire, until three o'clock; when, perceiving all attempts to force a breach ineffectual, the enemy gave up the contest, and retired. Every act of theirs discovers a strange delusion, and on what wild and fanciful grounds all their expectations were founded. That the American troops were well posted, and strongly defended by pieces of heavy ordnance mounted along their line, was a fact well known; yet a belief was confidently indulged, that the undisciplined collection which constituted the strength of our army, would be able to derive little benefit from such a circumstance; and that artillery could produce but slight advantages in the hands of persons who were strangers to the manner of using it. That many who, from necessity, were called to the direction of the guns, were at first entirely unacquainted with their management, is indeed true; yet the accuracy and precision with which they threw their shot, afforded a convincing argument, either that they possessed the

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CHAP. capacity of becoming, in a short time, well acquainted  
 X. with the art of gunnery, or that it was a science, the  
 1815. acquiring of which was not attended with incalculable  
 difficulties.

That they would be able to effect an opening, and march through the strong defence in their front, was an idea so fondly cherished by our assailants, that an apprehension of failure had scarcely ever occurred. So sanguine were they in this belief, that, early in the morning, their soldiers were arranged along the ditches, in rear of their batteries, prepared and ready to advance to the charge, the moment a breach could be made. Here, protected by their situation from danger, they remained, waiting the result that should call them to act. But their efforts not producing the slightest impression, and their rockets not having the effect to drive our militia away, they abandoned the contest, and retired to their camp, leaving their batteries almost completely destroyed.

Perceiving their attempts must fail, and that such an effect could not be produced, as would warrant their advance, another expedient was resorted to, but with no better success. It occurred to the British commander, an attack might be made to advantage, next the woods, and a force was accordingly ordered to penetrate in this direction, and turn the left of our line, which was supposed not to extend further than the edge of the swamp. In this way, it was expected a diversion could be made, while the reserve columns, in readiness, and waiting, were to press forward, the moment it could be effected. Here disappointment resulted. Coffee's brigade, being already extended

An advance  
 made on  
 general  
 Coffee's  
 line.

into the swamp, as far as it was possible for an advancing party to penetrate, brought unexpected dangers into view, and occasioned an abandonment of the project. That such a design was practicable, and might be attempted, was the subject of early consideration; and the necessary precaution had been taken to prevent it. Although cutting the levee had raised the water in the swamp, and increased the difficulties of keeping troops there, yet a fear, lest this pass might be sought by the enemy, and the rear of the line thereby gained, had determined the general to extend his defence even here. This had been entrusted to general Coffee; and surely a more arduous duty can scarcely be imagined. To form a breast-work, in such a place, was attended with many difficulties, and considerable exposure. A slight one, however, had been thrown up, and the underwood, for thirty or forty yards, cut down, that the riflemen, stationed for its defence, might have a complete view of any force, which, through this route, might attempt a passage. When it is recollected that this position was to be maintained night and day, uncertain of the moment of attack; and that the only opportunity afforded our troops for rest, was on logs and brush, thrown together, by which they were raised above the surrounding water; it may be truly said, that seldom has it fallen to the lot of any to encounter greater hardships: but, accustomed to privation, and alive to those feelings which a love of country inspires, they obeyed without complaining, and cheerfully kept their position, until all danger had subsided. Sensible of the importance of the point they defended, and that it was necessary

CHAP. to be maintained, be the sacrifice what it might, they  
X. looked to nothing but a faithful discharge of the trust  
confided to them.

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Our loss, in this affair, was eleven killed, and twenty-three wounded : that of the enemy was never correctly known. The only certain information is contained in the communication of general Lambert to earl Bathurst, on the 28th instant, where the casualties and losses, from the 1st to the 5th, are stated at seventy-eight. Many allowances, however, are to be made for this report. It was written at a time, when, from the numerous disasters encountered, it was not to be presumed the general's mind was in a situation patiently to remember, or minutely to detail them. From the great precision of our fire, and the injury visibly sustained by their batteries, their loss was, no doubt, considerable. The enemy's heavy shot having penetrated our entrenchment, in many places, it was discovered not to be as strong as had at first been imagined. Fatigue parties were again employed, and its strength daily increased.

The British had again retired to their encampment. It was well understood by Jackson, that they were in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements ; though he rested with confidence in the belief, that a few more days would also bring to his assistance the troops from Kentucky. Each party, therefore, was busily and constantly engaged in preparation, the one to wage a vigorous attack, the other bravely to defend, and resolutely to oppose it.

A reference to the plate will show more fully than any description can, the situation of the American



army. It was in the rear of an entrenchment formed of earth, and extending in a straight line from the river to the swamp. In its front was a deep ditch, which had been formerly used as a mill-race. The Mississippi had receded and left this dry, next the river, though in many places the water still remained. Along the line, and at unequal distances, to the centre of general Carroll's command, were mounted guns of different caliber, from six to thirty-two pounds. Near the river, and in advance of the entrenchment, was erected a redoubt, with embrasures, commanding the road, along the levee, and calculated to rake the ditch in front.

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American  
line of de-  
fence.

We have heretofore stated, that general Morgan was ordered, on the 24th of December, to cross to the west bank of the Mississippi. From an apprehension lest an attempt might be made through Barrataria, and the city reached from the right bank of the river, the general had extended his defence there likewise: in fact, unacquainted with the enemy's views,—not knowing the number of their troops, nor but that they might have sufficient strength to wage an attack in various directions, he had carefully divided out his forces, that he might guard, and be able to protect, at all points. His greatest fears, and hence his strongest defence, next to the one occupied by himself, was on the Chef Menteur road, where governor Claiborne, at the head of the Louisiana militia, was posted. The position on the right was formed on the same plan with the line on the left,—lower down the river, and extending out to the swamp. Here general Morgan commanded.

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To be prepared against every possible contingency that might arise, Jackson had established another line of defence, about two miles in the rear of the one at present occupied, which was intended as a rallying point, in the event he should be driven from his first position. With the aid of his cavalry, to give a momentary check to the advance of the enemy, he expected to be enabled, with inconsiderable injury, to reach it; where he would again have advantages on his side—be in a situation to dispute a further passage to the city, and arrest their progress. To inspirit his own soldiers, and preserve as great a show as possible of strength and intended resistance to the enemy, his unarmed troops, which constituted no very inconsiderable number, were here stationed. All intercourse between the lines, but by confidential officers, was prohibited, and every precaution and vigilance employed, not only to keep this want of preparation concealed from the enemy, but even from being known on his own lines.

Occasional firing, at a distance, which produced nothing of consequence, was all that marked the interim, from the 1st to the 8th.

Kentucky  
troops arrive at  
head quarters.

On the 4th of this month, the long-expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to twenty-two hundred and fifty, under the command of major general Thomas, arrived at head quarters; but so ill provided with arms, as to be incapable of rendering any considerable service. The alacrity with which the citizens of this state had proceeded to the frontiers, and aided in the north-western campaigns, added to the disasters which ill-timed policy or misfortune had pro-

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duced, had created such a drain, that arms were not to be procured. They had advanced, however, to their point of destination, with an expectation of being supplied on their arrival. About five hundred had muskets; the rest were provided with guns, from which little or no advantage could be expected. The mayor of New Orleans, at the request of general Jackson, had already examined and drawn from the city every weapon that could be found; while the arrival of the Louisiana militia, in an equally unprepared situation, rendered it impossible for the evil to be effectually remedied. A boat, laden with arms, was somewhere on the river, intended for the use and defence of the lower country; but where it was, or when it might arrive, rested alone on hope and conjecture. Expresses had been despatched up the river, for three hundred miles, to seek and hasten it on; still there were no tidings of an approach. That so many brave men, at a moment of such anxious peril, should be compelled to stand with folded arms, unable, from their situation, to render the least service to their country, was an event greatly to be deplored, and did not fail to excite the feelings and sensibility of the commanding general. His mind, active, and prepared for any thing but despondency, sought relief in vain;—there was none. No alternative was presented, but to place them at his entrenchment in the rear; and, by the show they might make, add to his appearance and numbers, without at all increasing his strength.

Information was now received that major general Lambert had joined the British commander-in-chief, with a considerable reinforcement. It had been here-

British  
army  
reinforced.

CHAP. X. tofore announced in the American camp, that additional forces were expected, and something decisive might be looked for, so soon as they should arrive. 1815. This circumstance, in connection with others, no less favouring the idea, led to the conclusion that a few days more would, in all probability, bring on the struggle, which would decide the fate of the city. It was more than ever necessary to keep concealed the situation of his army ; and, above all, to preserve as secret as possible, its unarmed condition. To restrict all communication, even with his own lines, was now, as danger increased, rendered more important. None were permitted to leave the line, and none from without to pass into his camp, but such as were to be implicitly confided in. The line of sentinels was strengthened in front, that none might pass to the enemy, should desertion be attempted : still, notwithstanding this precaution and care, his plans and situation were disclosed. On the night of the 6th, a soldier from the line, by some means, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of our sentinels. Early next morning, his departure was discovered : it was at once correctly conjectured he had gone over to the enemy, and would, no doubt, afford them all the information in his power to communicate. This opinion, as subsequent circumstances disclosed, was well-founded ; and dearly did he atone his crime. He unfolded to the British the situation of the American line ; the late reinforcements we had received, and the unarmed condition of many of the troops ; and, pointing to the centre of general Carroll's division, as a place occu-

pied by militia alone, recommended it as the point where an attack might be most safely made. CHAP.  
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Other intelligence received was confirmatory of the belief of an impending attack. From some prisoners, taken on the lake, it was ascertained the enemy were busily engaged in deepening Villery's canal, with the view of passing their boats and ordnance to the Mississippi. During the 7th, a constant bustle was perceived in the British camp. Along the borders of the canal, their soldiers were continually in motion, marching and manœuvring, for no other purpose than to conceal those who were busily engaged at work in the rear. To ascertain the cause of this uncommon stir, and learn their designs, as far as was practicable, commodore Patterson had proceeded down the river, on the opposite side, and, having gained a favourable position, in front of their encampment, discovered them to be actually engaged in deepening the passage to the river. It was not difficult to divine their purpose. No other conjecture could be entertained than that an assault was intended to be made on the line of defence commanded by general Morgan; which, if gained, would expose our troops on the left bank to the fire of the redoubt erected on the right; and in this way compel them to an abandonment of their position. To counteract this scheme was important; and measures were immediately taken to prevent the execution of a plan, which, if successful, would be attended with incalculable dangers. An increased strength was given to this line. The second regiment of Louisiana militia, and four hundred Kentucky troops, were directed to be crossed over, 1815.  
British  
prepara-  
tions for  
attack.

CHAP. to reinforce and protect it. Owing to some delay  
 X. and difficulty in arming them, the latter, amounting,  
 1815. instead of four hundred, to but one hundred and eighty,  
 did not arrive until the morning of the 8th. A little  
 before day, they were despatched to aid an advanced  
 party, who, under the command of major Arnaut, had  
 been sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and  
 oppose their landing. The hopes indulged from their  
 opposition were not realized; and the enemy, unmo-  
 lested, reached the shore.

Morgan's position, besides being strengthened by  
 several brass twelves, was defended by a strong bat-  
 tery, mounting twenty-four pounders, directed by  
 commodore Patterson, which afforded additional  
 strength and security. The line itself was not strong;  
 yet if properly maintained by the troops selected to  
 defend it, was believed fully adequate to the purposes  
 of successful resistance. Late at night, Patterson as-  
 certained that the enemy had succeeded in passing their  
 boats through the canal, and immediately communi-  
 cated his information to the general. The commodore  
 had already formed the idea of dropping the Louisi-  
 ana schooner down, to attack and sink them. This  
 thought, though well conceived, was abandoned, from  
 the danger involved, and from an apprehension lest the  
 batteries erected on the river, with which she would  
 come in collision, might, by the aid of hot shot, succeed  
 in blowing her up. It was preferred patiently to await  
 their arrival, believing it would be practicable, with  
 the bravery of more than eight hundred men, and the  
 slender advantages possessed, to maintain our position,  
 and repel the assailants.

On the left bank, where the general in person commanded, every thing was in readiness to meet the assault, when it should be made. The redoubt on the levee, was defended by a company of the seventh regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Ross. The regular troops occupied that part of the entrenchment next the river. General Carroll's division was in the centre, supported by the Kentucky troops, under general John Adair; while the extreme left, extending for a considerable distance into the swamp, was protected by the brigade of general Coffee. How soon the attack should be waged, was uncertain; at what moment, rested with the enemy,—with us, to be in readiness for resistance. There were many circumstances, however, favouring the belief, that the hour of contest was not far distant, and indeed fast approaching; the bustle of to-day,—the efforts to carry their boats into the river,—the fascines and scaling-ladders that were preparing, were circumstances pointing to attack, and indicating the hour to be near at hand. General Jackson, unmoved by appearances, anxiously desired a contest, which he believed would give a triumph to his arms, and terminate the hardships of his suffering soldiers. Unremitting in exertion, and constantly vigilant, his precaution kept pace with the zeal and preparation of the enemy. He seldom slept: he was always at his post. His sentinels were doubled, and extended as far as possible, in the direction of the British camp; while a considerable portion of the troops were constantly at the line, with their arms in their hands, ready to act, when the first alarm should be given.

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For eight days had the two armies lain upon the same field, and in view of each other, without any thing decisive being on either side effected. Twice, since their landing, had the British columns essayed to effect by storm the execution of their plans, and twice had failed—been compelled to relinquish the attempt, and retire from the contest. It was not to be expected that things could long remain in this dubious state. Soldiers, the pride of England,—the boasted conquerors of Europe, were there; distinguished generals were their leaders, who earnestly desired to announce to their country, and the world, their signal achievements. The high expectations which had been indulged of the success of this expedition, were to be realized, at every peril, or disgrace would result.

The 8th of January at length arrived. The day dawned; and the signals, intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements, were descried. On the left, near the swamp, a sky-rocket was perceived rising in the air; and presently another ascended from the right, next the river. They announced to each other, that all was prepared and ready, to proceed and carry by storm; a defence which had twice foiled their utmost efforts. Instantly the charge was made, and with such rapidity, that our soldiers, at the out posts, with difficulty fled in.

The British batteries, which had been demolished on the 1st of the month, had been re-established during the preceding night: and heavy pieces of cannon mounted, to aid in their intended operations. These now opened, and showers of bombs and balls were poured upon our line; while the air was lighted with

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their congreve rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham in person, and supported by generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward; the right against the centre of general Carroll's command,—the left against our redoubt on the levee. A thick fog, that obscured the morning, enabled them to approach within a short distance of our entrenchment, before they were discovered. They were now perceived advancing, with firm, quick, and steady pace, in column, with a front of sixty or seventy deep. Our troops, who had for some time been in readiness, and waiting their appearance, gave three cheers, and instantly the whole line was lighted with the blaze of their fire. A burst of artillery and small arms, pouring with destructive aim upon them, mowed down their front, and arrested their advance. In our musketry, there was not a moment's intermission; as one party discharged their pieces, another succeeded; alternately loading and appearing, no pause could be perceived,—it was one continued volley. The columns already perceived their dangerous and exposed situation. Battery No. 7, on the left, was ably served by lieutenant Spotts, and galled them with an incessant and destructive fire. Batteries No. 6 and 8 were no less actively employed, and no less successful, in felling them to the ground. Notwithstanding the severity of our fire, which few troops could for a moment have withstood, some of those brave men pressed on, and succeeded in gaining the ditch, in front of our works, where they remained during the action, and were afterwards made prisoners. The horror before them was too great to be withstood; and already

CHAP. were the British troops seen wavering in their determi-  
X. nation, and receding from the conflict. At this moment,  
1815. Sir Edward Pakenham, hastening to the front, endeavoured to encourage and inspire them with renewed zeal. His example was of short continuance : he soon fell, mortally wounded, in the arms of his aid-de-camp, not far from our line. Generals Gibbs and Keane also fell, and were borne from the field, dangerously wounded. At this moment, general Lambert, who was advancing at a small distance in the rear, with the reserve, met the columns precipitately retreating, and in great confusion. His efforts to stop them were unavailing,—they continued retreating, until they reached a ditch, at the distance of four hundred yards, where a momentary safety being found, they were rallied, and halted,

The field before them, over which they had advanced, was strewed with the dead and dying. Danger hovered still around ; yet, urged and encouraged by their officers, who feared their own disgrace involved in the failure, they again moved to the charge. They were already near enough to deploy, and were endeavouring to do so ; but the same constant and unremitted resistance, that caused their first retreat, continued yet unabated. Our batteries had never ceased their fire ; their constant discharges of grape and canister, and the fatal aim of our musketry, mowed down the front of the columns, as fast as they could be formed. Satisfied nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited all further attempts, they forsook the contest and the field in disorder, leaving it almost entirely covered with the dead and wounded, It was in

vain their officers endeavoured to animate them to further resistance, and equally vain to attempt coercion. CHAP. X.

The panic produced from the dreadful repulse they had experienced ; the plain, on which they had acted, being covered with innumerable bodies of their countrymen ; while, with their most zealous exertions, they had been unable to obtain the slightest advantage, were circumstances well calculated to make even the most submissive soldier oppose the authority that would have controlled him. 1815.

The light companies of fusileers ; the forty-third and ninety-third regiments, and one hundred men from the West India regiment, led on by colonel Rennie, were ordered to proceed, under cover of some chimneys, standing in the field, until having cleared them, to oblique to the river, and advance, protected by the levee, against our redoubt on the right. This work, having been but lately commenced, was in an unfinished state. It was not until the 4th, that general Jackson, much against his own opinion, had yielded to the suggestions of others, and permitted its projection ; and, considering the plan on which it had been sketched, had not yet received that strength necessary to its safe defence. The detachment, ordered against this place, formed the left of general Keane's command. Rennie executed his orders with great bravery ; and, urging forward, arrived at the ditch. His advance was greatly annoyed by commodore Patterson's battery on the left bank, and the cannon mounted on the redoubt ; but, reaching our works, and passing the ditch, Rennie, sword in hand, leaped on the wall, and, calling to his troops, bade them follow ; he had scarcely spoken, American redoubt carried.

CHAP. when he fell, by the fatal aim of our riflemen. Press-  
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ed by the impetuosity of superior numbers, who were  
1815. mounting the wall, and entering at the embrasures,  
our troops had retired to the line, in rear of the redoubt.  
A momentary pause ensued, but only to be interrupted,  
with increased horrors. Captain Beal, with the city  
riflemen, cool and self-possessed, perceiving the ene-  
my in his front, opened upon them, and at every dis-  
charge brought the object to the ground. To advance,  
or maintain the point gained, was equally impractica-  
ble for the enemy : to retreat or surrender was the only  
alternative ; for they already perceived the division on  
the right thrown into confusion, and hastily leaving  
the field.

General Jackson, being informed of the success of  
the enemy on the right, and of their being in posses-  
sion of the redoubt, pressed forward a reinforcement,  
to regain it. Previously to its arrival, they had aban-  
doned the attempt, and were retiring. They were se-  
verely galled by such of our guns as could be brought  
to bear. The levee afforded them considerable pro-  
tection ; yet, by commodore Patterson's redoubt, on  
the right bank, they suffered greatly. Enfiladed by  
this, on their advance, they had been greatly annoyed,  
and now, in their retreat, were no less severely assailed.  
Numbers found a grave in the ditch, before our  
line ; and of those who gained the redoubt, not one, it  
is believed, escaped ;—they were shot down, as fast as  
they entered. The route, along which they had ad-  
vanced and retired, was strewed with bodies. Af-  
frighted at the carnage, they moved from the scene,  
hastily and in confusion. Our batteries were still


continuing the slaughter, and cutting them down at every step: safety seemed only to be attainable, when they should have retired without the range of our shot; which, to troops galled as severely as they were, was too remote a relief. Pressed by this consideration, they fled to the ditch, whither the right division had retreated; and there remained, until night permitted them to retire.

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Here was a time, the most auspicious that had appeared during the war, to have gained a complete triumph to our arms. What important events, in a nation's history, are often the result of slight occurrences! and how often are they prevented, by causes no less inconsiderable! This truth is apparent, in the fate of this grand expedition, which had been fitted out to humble our national pride; and which would have been captured or destroyed, but for the ill-timed policy of the government, or its agents, who, as has been shown, prevented the arrival of the arms destined for this place, because an inconsiderable sum was thereby saved to the nation. A considerable portion of our troops were inactive and useless, for the want of arms, to place in their hands. If this had not been the case,—had they been in a situation to have acted efficiently, the whole British army must have submitted. But, situated as Jackson then was, pursuit would have been rashness; yet, with the additional force which a sufficiency of arms would have placed at his command, much might have been effected against an enemy whose ranks were thinned by the unparalleled slaughter of the day; and who, panic-struck, and fleeing from the danger before them, were incompetent to resist-

CHAP. X. <sup>X.</sup>  1815. ance, and already believed themselves conquered : but prudence, under existing circumstances, strongly opposed the idea of pursuit, and suggested to the commanding general, that although he had thus signally achieved even more than he had expected, yet with the kind of troops it had been effected, inferior in number and discipline, to attempt, even under present advantages, a contest in the open plain, was hazarding too greatly. His reasoning on this subject was certainly correct, and such as feeling and policy sanctioned. If an attack were now urged, and the effort crowned with success, enough having been already done, it could reflect but little additional lustre on the American character : if, however, unsuccessful, the object of the expedition would be secured to the enemy ; and all that had, for so many days, and under such weighty privations, been contended for, would, at the instant, be sacrificed and lost. In addition to this, his soldiers were most of them owners of the soil, who had families anxiously concerned for their safety, and whose happiness depended upon their return : such men would be a loss to the community, too great to warrant their being risked for the mere gratification of pride ; in opposition, too, to those whose trade was war ; and who, wholly abstracted from every thing like principle, contended in battle, without knowing why, or for what they fought. The lives of his soldiers, he believed were too valuable to their families, and the community, to be risked upon a venture not warranted by necessity, nor required by the interest and honour of the country. He preferred, therefore, to adopt what seemed the safer course ; to continue his position,

which assured protection to the city, and the inhabitants, rather than by endeavouring to obtain more, endanger the loss of every thing.

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The efforts of the enemy to carry our line of defence on the left, were seconded by an attack on the right bank, with eight hundred chosen troops, under the command of colonel Thornton. Owing to the difficulty of passing the boats from the canal to the river, and the strong current of the Mississippi, all the troops destined for this service were not crossed, nor the opposite shore reached for some hours after the expected moment of attack. By the time he had effected a landing, the day had dawned, and the flashes of the guns announced the battle begun. Supported by three gunboats, he hastened forward, with his command, in the direction of Morgan's entrenchment.

Colonel  
Thornton's ad-  
vance  
against  
gen. Mor-  
gan's line.

Some time during the night of the 7th, two hundred Louisiana militia had been sent off, to watch the movements of the enemy, and oppose him in his landing: this detachment, under the command of major Arnaud, had advanced a mile down the river and halted; either supposing the general incorrect, in apprehending an attack, or that his men, if refreshed, would be more competent to exertion, he directed them to lie down and sleep: one man only was ordered to be upon the watch, lest the enemy should approach them undiscovered. Just at day, he called upon his sleeping companions, and bade them rise and be ready, for he had heard a considerable bustle, a little below. No sooner risen, than confirmed in the truth of what had been stated, they moved off in the direction they had come, without even attempting an execution of their

**CHAP. orders.** The Kentucky troops, having reached Mor-

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gan at five o'clock in the morning, were immediately sent to co-operate with the Louisianians. Major Davis, who commanded, had proceeded about three quarters of a mile, and met those troops hastily retreating up the road; he ascertained from them, that the enemy had made the shore; had debarked, and were moving rapidly up the levee. He informed them for what purpose he had been despatched,—to oppose an approach as long as practicable, and with their assistance, he would endeavour to execute his orders.

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The two detachments, now acting together, formed behind a saw-mill-race, skirted with a quantity of plank and scantling, which afforded a tolerable shelter. Davis, with his two hundred Kentuckians, formed on the road next the river, supported by the Louisiana militia on the right. The enemy appearing, their approach was resisted, and a warm and spirited opposition for some time maintained: a momentary check was given. The British again advanced, and again received a heavy fire. At this moment, general Morgan's aid-de-camp, who was present, perceiving the steady advance of the enemy, and fearing for the safety of the troops, ordered a retreat. Confusion was the consequence—order could not be maintained, and the whole fled, in haste, to Morgan's line. Arriving in safety, though much exhausted, they were immediately directed to form, and extend themselves to the swamp; that the right of the entrenchment might not be turned.

Colonel Thornton having reached an orange grove, about seven hundred yards distant, halted; and, examining Morgan's line, found it to "consist of a formi-



dable redoubt on the river," with its weakest and most vulnerable point towards the swamp. He directly advanced to the attack, in two divisions, against the extreme right and centre of the line; and, having deployed, charged the entrenchment, defended by about fifteen hundred men. A severe discharge, from the field pieces mounted along our works, caused the right division to oblique, which, uniting with the left, pressed forward to the point occupied by the Kentucky troops. Perceiving themselves thus exposed, and having not yet recovered from the emotions produced by their first retreat, they began to give way, and very soon entirely abandoned their position. The Louisiana militia gave a few fires, and followed the example. Through the exertions of the officers, a momentary halt was effected; but a burst of congrève rockets, falling thickly, and firing the sugar-cane, and other combustibles around, again excited their fears, and they moved hastily away; nor could they be rallied, until, at the distance of two miles, having reached a saw-mill-race, they were formed, and placed in an attitude of defence.

Commodore Patterson, perceiving the right flank about to be turned, had ceased his destructive fire against the retreating columns on the other shore, and turned his guns to enfilade the enemy next the swamp; but, at the moment when he expected to witness a firm resistance, and was in a situation to co-operate, he beheld those, without whose aid all his efforts were unavailing, suddenly thrown into confusion, and forsaking their posts. Discovering he could no longer maintain his ground, he spiked his guns, destroyed his ammunition, and retired from a post, where he had rendered the most important services.

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1815.

Morgan's  
line is  
carried  
by the  
British.

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In the panic that produced this disorderly flight, at a moment when manly resistance was expected, are to be found circumstances of justification, which might have occasioned similar conduct even in disciplined troops. The weakest part of the line, and which was protected but by a slight ditch, was assailed by the greatest strength of the enemy: this was defended by one hundred and eighty Kentuckians, who were stretched out to an extent of three hundred yards, and unsupported by any pieces of artillery. Thus openly exposed to the attack of a greatly superior force, and weakened by the extent of ground they covered, it is not to be wondered at, or deserving reproach, that they should have considered resistance ineffectual, and forsaken a post, which they had strong reasons for believing they could not maintain. General Morgan reported to general Jackson the misfortune and defeat he had met, and attributed it to the flight of those troops, who had also drawn along with them the rest of his forces. It is true, they were the first to flee; and equally true, that their example may have had the effect of producing general alarm; but in point of situation, those troops materially differed: the one, as we have shown, were exposed, and enfeebled by the manner of their arrangement; the other, considerably superior in numbers, covered no greater extent of ground,—were defended by an excellent breast-work, and several pieces of cannon: with this difference, the loss of confidence of the former was not without sufficient cause. Of these facts, commodore Patterson was not apprized;—general Morgan was: both, however, attributed the disaster to the flight of

the Kentucky militia. Upon their information, general Jackson founded his report to the secretary of war, by which those troops were exposed to censures they did not merit. Had all the circumstances, as they existed, been disclosed, reproach would have been prevented. At the mill-race, no troops could have behaved better: they were well posted, and bravely resisted the advance of the enemy, nor, until an order to that effect was given, had entertained a thought of retreating.

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The heart-felt joy at the glorious victory achieved on one side of the river, was clouded by the disaster witnessed on the other. A position was gained, which secured to the enemy advantages the most important; and whence they might annoy our whole line, on the left bank. But for the precaution of commodore Patterson, in spiking his guns, and destroying the ammunition, it would have been in the power of colonel Thornton to have completely enfiladed, and rendered it altogether untenable. Fearful lest the guns might be unspiked, and brought to operate against him, general Jackson hastened to throw detachments across, with orders to regain it, at every hazard. To the troops on the right bank, he forwarded an address, with a view to excite them to deeds of valour, and inspire them to exertions that should wipe off the reproach they had drawn upon themselves.\* Previously, however, to their being in readiness to act, he succeeded by stratagem in re-obtaining it, and thus spared the effusion of blood, which would have been necessary to its accomplishment.

\* See note D.

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## X.

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Loss of  
the Bri-  
tish.

The loss of the British, in the main attack, on the left bank, has been, at different times, variously stated. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, ascertained, on the next day after the battle, by colonel Hayne, the inspector general, places it at twenty-six hundred. General Lambert's report to lord Bathurst makes it but two thousand and seventy. From prisoners, however, and information and circumstances derived through other sources, it must have been even much greater than is stated by either. Among them was their commander-in-chief, and major-general Gibbs, who died of his wounds the next day, besides many of their most valuable and distinguished officers; while the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was but thirteen.\*

Captain  
Wilkin-  
son's let-  
ter.

It appears to have been made a question by the British officers, if it would not be more advisable to carry general Morgan's line, and refrain from any attempt on this side the river. It was believed, that if successful in this, they would be able to force general Jackson from his entrenchment, and pass, with the main body of the army, in safety to the city. A letter,

\* Our effective force, at the line, on the left bank, was three thousand seven hundred; that of the enemy at least nine thousand. The force landed in Louisiana has been variously reported: the best information places it at about fourteen thousand. A part of this acted with colonel Thornton; the climate had rendered many unfit for the duties of the field; while a considerable number had been killed and wounded, in the different contests since their arrival. Their strength, therefore, may be fairly estimated, on the 8th, at the number we have stated; at any rate, not less.

found in the possession of captain Wilkinson, a British officer, who fell in the battle, to a friend at home, in the war department, speaking on this subject, shows that a difference of opinion prevailed, and confesses his own as being decidedly in favour of a vigorous attack on both sides. It bears date late on the night of the 7th, nor does it appear, although he was a captain and brigade major, that he, at that time, knew whether an assault were seriously intended against Jackson's line, or was designed as a feint, to aid the operations of colonel Thornton. With the true spirit of a British officer, however, he indulges a hope of success, with entire confidence,—entertains no fears for the result, nor doubts but that the Americans will at once retire before their superior skill and bravery. A general order, which must have been received after he had written, disclosing the manner of attack, on the left, where he acted, was found with the letter. The fusiliers and light troops were there instructed, after reaching our line, to act as a pursuing squadron, and keep up alarm, while the army on the right would press closely in the rear. It breathes an assurance of success, and shows with what anxiety they looked to the approaching morning, as likely to bring with it a successful termination of their labours, and a triumph over a foe, whose advantages, more than bravery, they supposed, had so long baffled their utmost efforts.

That it was considered, however, an undertaking of greater magnitude and hazard than they were disposed to admit, is obvious, from one circumstance. The officer who leads his troops on a forlorn attempt, not unfrequently places before them allurements stronger

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CHAP. than either authority or duty. On the present occasion, this resort was not omitted; and inducements

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British  
 watch  
 word.

were held out, than which nothing more inviting could be offered to an infuriated soldiery.\* Let it be remembered of that gallant but misguided general, who has been so much deplored by the British nation, that to the cupidity of his soldiers, he promised the wealth of the city, as a recompense for their gallantry and desperation; while, with brutal licentiousness, they were to revel in lawless indulgence, and triumph, uncontrolled, over female innocence. Scenes like these, our nation, dishonoured and insulted, had already witnessed; she had witnessed them at Hampton and Havre-de-Grace: but it was reserved for her yet to learn that an officer of high standing, polished, generous, and brave, should, to induce his soldiers to acts of daring valour, permit them, as a reward, to insult, injure, and debase, those whom all mankind, even savages, reverence and respect. The history of Europe, since civilized warfare began, is challenged to afford an instance of such gross depravity,—such wanton outrage on the morals and dignity of society. English writers may deny the correctness of the charge; it certainly interests them to do so: but its authenticity is too well established to admit of doubt, while its criminality is increased, from being the act of a people, who hold themselves up to surrounding nations, as examples of every thing that is correct and proper.

\* "*Booty and beauty*," was the watch word of Sir Edward Pakenham's army, in the battle of the 8th.

The events of this day afford abundant evidence of the liberality of the American soldiers, and show a striking difference in the troops of the two nations. While one were allured to acts of bravery and duty, by the promised pillage and plunder of the inhabitants, and the commission of crimes abhorrent in the sight of earth and heaven; the other fought but for his country, and, having repelled her assailants, instantly forgot all enmity, viewed his fallen foe as a brother, and hastened to assist him, even at the hazard of his own life. The gallantry of the British soldiers, and no people could have displayed greater, had brought many of them even to our ramparts, where, shot down by our troops, they were lying badly wounded. When the firing had ceased, and the columns had retired, our troops, with generous benevolence, advanced over their lines, to assist and bring in the wounded, which lay under and near the walls; when, strange to tell, the enemy, from the ditch they occupied, opened a fire upon them, and, though at a considerable distance, succeeded in wounding several. It was enough for our generous soldiers, that they were doing an act which the benevolence of their hearts approved, and, with charitable perseverance, they continued to administer to the wants of these suffering men, and to carry them within their lines, although, in their efforts, they were continually exposed to danger. Let the apologist for crime say, wherefore were acts thus unpardonable committed against men, who were administering to the wants, and relieving the sufferings of the dying countrymen of those, who thus repaid the most laudable humanity, with wanton and useless cruelty.

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Generosity of the American soldiers.

CHAP. A communication, shortly after, from major general  
 X. Lambert, on whom, in consequence of the fall of ge-  
 1815. nerals Pakenham, Gibbs, and Keane, the command  
 had devolved, acknowledges to have witnessed the  
 kindness of our troops to his wounded. He solicits  
 of general Jackson permission to send an unarmed  
 party, to bury the dead, lying before his lines, and to  
 bring off such of the wounded as were dangerous.  
 Though, in all probability, it was unknown to general  
 Lambert, what had been the conduct of his troops, on  
 this occasion, and unquestionably not authorized by  
 him, yet Jackson, in answer to his despatch, did not  
 omit to bring it to his view, and to express his utter  
 abhorrence of the act. The request to bury his dead  
 was granted, so far as an approach to our lines could be  
 permitted. Jackson consented that all lying at a greater  
 distance than three hundred yards, should be relieved,  
 and the dead buried: those nearer were, by his own  
 men, to be delivered over, to be interred by their coun-  
 trymen. This precaution was taken, that the enemy  
 might not have an opportunity to inspect, or know any  
 thing of his situation.

General  
 Lambert  
 requests  
 a suspen-  
 sion of  
 hostilities.

General Jackson, desirous of administering to the  
 relief of the wounded, and to be relieved from his ap-  
 prehensions of attack, proposed, about noon, that hos-  
 tilities should cease, until the same hour the next day.  
 General Jackson, greatly in hopes of being able to se-  
 cure an important advantage, by his apparent willing-  
 ness to accede to the proposal, drew up an armistice,  
 and forwarded it to general Lambert, with directions  
 to be immediately returned, if approved. It contained  
 a stipulation, that hostilities, on the left bank of the



river, should be discontinued from its ratification, but not on the right ; and, in the interim, no reinforcements were to be sent across, by either party. This was a bold stroke at stratagem ; and, although it succeeded, even to the extent desired, was yet attended with considerable hazard. Reinforcements had been ordered over, to retake the position lost by Morgan in the morning ; but they had not, at this time, passed the river, nor could it be expected to be retaken with the same troops who had yielded it, when possessing advantages which gave them a decided superiority : this the commanding general well knew ; yet, to spare the sacrifice of his men, which, in regaining it, he foresaw must be considerable, he was disposed to venture upon a course, which, he felt assured, could not fail of success. It was impossible his object could be discovered ; while he confidently believed the British commander would infer from his proposition, that such additional troops were already thrown over, as would be fully adequate to the purposes of attack, and greatly to endanger, if not wholly cut off colonel Thornton's retreat. General Lambert's construction was such as had been anticipated. Although the armistice contained a request that it should be immediately signed and returned, it was neglected to be acted upon, until the next day ; and Thornton and his command were, in the interim, under cover of the night, re-crossed, and the ground they occupied left to be peaceably possessed by the original holders. The opportunity thus afforded, of regaining a position, on which, in a great degree, depended the safety of those on the opposite shore, was accepted with an avidity

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X.  
1815.

CHAP. its importance merited, and immediate measures taken  
 X. to increase its strength, and prepare it against any future  
 1815. attack that might be made. This delay of the British  
 commander was evidently designed, that, pending the  
 negotiation, and before it were concluded, an opportunity might be had, either of throwing over reinforcements, or removing colonel Thornton and his troops from a situation believed to be extremely perilous. Early next morning, general Lambert returned his acceptance of what had been proposed, with an apology for having failed to reply sooner: he excused the omission, by pleading a press of business, which had occasioned the communication to be overlooked and neglected. Jackson was at no loss to attribute the delay to the correct motive: the apology, however, was as perfectly satisfactory to him, as any thing that could have been offered; beyond the object intended to be effected, he felt unconcerned, and, having secured this, rested perfectly satisfied. It cannot, however, appear otherwise than extraordinary, that this neglect should have been ascribed by the British general to accident, or a press of business, when it must have been no doubt of greater importance, at that moment, than any thing he could possibly have had before him.

Armistice  
 concluded.  
 Jan. 9.

The armistice was this morning concluded, and agreed to continue until two o'clock in the evening. The remaining dead and wounded were now removed from the field, which, for three hundred yards, in front of our line, they had almost literally covered. For the reason already given, our soldiers, within the line of demarkation between the two camps, delivered over to the British, who were not permitted to cross it, the

dead for burial, and the wounded on parole, for which it was stipulated an equal number of American prisoners should be restored.

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It has seldom happened that officers were more deceived in their expectations, than in the result of this battle, or where they atoned more severely their error : their reasoning had never led them to conclude that militia would maintain their ground, when warmly assailed : no other belief was entertained, than, alarmed at the appearance, and orderly firm approach of veteran troops, they would at once forsake the contest, and in flight seek for safety. At what part of our line they were stationed, was ascertained by information derived through a deserter, on the 6th ; and influenced by a belief of their want of nerve, and deficiency in bravery, the main assault was urged at this point. They were indeed militia ; but the enemy could have assailed no part of our entrenchment, where they would have met a warmer reception, or where they would have found greater strength : it was indeed the best defended part of the line. The Kentucky and Tennessee troops, under generals Carroll and Adair, were here, who had already, on former occasions, won a reputation that was too dear to be sacrificed. These divisions, alternately charging their pieces, and mounting the platform, poured forth a constant stream of fire, that was impossible to be withstood, repelled the advancing columns, and drove them from the field, with prodigious slaughter.

There is one fact told, to which general credit seems to be attached, and which clearly shows what little fear was entertained of any determined opposition our

CHAP. militia might make. When repulsed from our line,  
X. the British officers were fully persuaded that the in-  
1815. formation given them by the deserter, on the night of  
the 6th, was false, and, instead of pointing out the  
ground defended by the militia, he had referred them  
to the place occupied by our best troops. Enraged at  
what they believed an intentional deception, they called  
their informant before them, to account for the  
mischief he had done. It was in vain he urged his  
innocence, and, with the most solemn protestations,  
declared he had stated the fact truly as it was. They  
could not be convinced,—it was impossible that they  
had contended against any, but the best disciplined  
troops; and, without further ceremony, the poor fellow,  
suspended in view of the camp, expiated, on a  
tree, not his crime, for what he had stated was true, but  
their error, in underrating an enemy, who had already  
afforded abundant evidences of valour. In all their  
future trials with our countrymen, may they be no  
less deceived.

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## CHAPTER XI.

**Bombardment of Fort St. Philip.—British army retire to their shipping.—General Jackson, with his troops, returns to New Orleans.—Day of thanksgiving.—Reduction of Fort Bowyer.—Legislature of Louisiana recommence their session.—Discontents fomented among the American troops.—Arrest of Louaillier,—of Judge Hall.—Peace announced.—General Jackson is prosecuted for contempt of court.—Troops are discharged, and the general returns to Nashville.—His person and character.—Conclusion.**

THE conflict was ended, and each army occupied its former position. In appearance the enemy were visibly altered: menace was sunk into dejection, and offensive measures yielded for those which promised safety. The attitude so long preserved, was now lain aside; and they were perceived throwing up partial defences, to guard against expected attack. It had been already announced, upon good authority, that a considerable force had succeeded in passing the Balize—made prisoners of a detachment there, and was proceeding up the Mississippi, to co-operate with the land forces. It was intended to aid in the battle of the 8th; but, failing to arrive, the attack had been made without it. Whether the enemy, chagrined and mortified at the failure of an effort, into which the idea of disappointment had never entered, might not again renew the attack, on the arrival of this force, was a pro-

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CHAP. XI.  bable event, and every preparation was making, to be again in readiness to repel it.

1815. Of this formidable advance, no certain intelligence was received, until the night of the 11th, when a heavy cannonading, supposed to be on Fort St. Philip, was distinctly heard. Jackson entertained no fears for

Bombard-  
ment of  
Fort St.  
Philip.

the result. The advantages of defence, which his precaution and vigilance had early extended to this passage, added to his entire confidence in the skill and bravery of the officer, to whom it had been entrusted, led him to believe there was nothing to be apprehended; and that every thing which duty and bravery could, would be done. The enemy's squadron, consisting of two bomb vessels, a brig, sloop, and schooner, were discovered by the videttes, from Fort Bourbon, on the morning of the 9th, directing their course up the river; signals were made,—information communicated, and every thing in readiness to receive them. About ten o'clock, having approached within striking distance, an assault was commenced on the fort, and an immense quantity of bombs and balls thrown. A severe and well-directed fire, from our water battery, soon compelled them to abandon the attack, and retire about two miles. At this distance, they possessed decided advantages,—having it in their power to reach the fort, with the shot from their large mortars, while they were entirely without the range of ours. The assault continued, without much intermission, from the 9th until the night of the 17th. They had hitherto lain beyond the effective range of our shot, and although from their large mortars the fort had been constantly reached, and pierced in innumerable places, still, such an effect



had not been produced, as to justify a belief, that they could now, more than at the moment of their arrival, venture to pass. A heavy mortar having been prepared, and turned against them on the 17th, the security they hitherto enjoyed, was taken away: their vessels could now be reached, and considerable effect was discovered to be produced. This circumstance, and an ineffectual bombardment, which, though continued for eight days, had secured no decided advantage, induced them to suspend all further efforts; and on the morning of the 18th, they retired.

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Major Overton, who commanded at this place, his officers, and soldiers, distinguished themselves by their activity and vigilance. To arrest the enemy's passage up the river, and from uniting with the forces below the city, was of great importance; and to succeed in preventing it, as much as could be expected. So long therefore as they kept at a distance, nor attempted a final accomplishment of their object, no other concern was felt, than to watch their manœuvres, and adopt such a course as should afford safety to the troops in the garrison; for this purpose, pieces of timber and scantling were used, which formed a cover, and gave protection from their bombs. The store of ammunition was also divided, and buried in different places in the earth, that in the event of accident the whole might not be lost. During the period of the bombardment, which lasted with little intermission for nine days, sleep was almost a stranger in the fort. The night was the time, when most of all it was feared, lest the enemy, aided by the darkness, and assisted by some fortunate breeze, would have it in their power to

CHAP. ascend the river, in despite of every opposition :

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the constant activity necessary, prevented all opportunities for repose. On a tempestuous night, the wind setting fair to aid them, an attempt was made to pass : to divert the attention of the fort, and favour the chances for ascent, their boats were sent forward to commence an attack. In this, however, they were disappointed, and compelled to abandon the undertaking. At length, after many fruitless efforts, and an immense waste of labour and ammunition, they retired without effecting their purpose, or producing, to us, a greater injury, than the loss of nine of the garrison, who were killed and wounded.

The failure of this squadron to ascend the river, perhaps determined general Lambert, in the course he immediately adopted. His situation before our line was truly unpleasant. Our batteries, after the 8th, were continually throwing balls and bombs into his camp ; and wherever a party of troops appeared in the field, they were greatly annoyed. Thus harassed, —perceiving that all assistance through this channel had failed ; and constantly in apprehension lest an attack should be made upon him, he resolved on availing himself of the first favourable opportunity to départ, and forsake a contest, where every effort had met disappointment, and where an immense number of his troops had found their graves. The more certainly to effect a retreat in safety, detachments had been sent out to remove every obstruction, that could retard their progress through the swamp. To give greater facility to his departure, strong redoubts were erected on the way, and bridges thrown across every creek

and bayou, that obstructed the passage. Every thing being thus prepared, on the night of the 18th, he silently decamped, and, proceeding towards the lake, embarked for his shipping, leaving, and recommending to the clemency and hospitality of the American general, eighty of his soldiers, who were too severely wounded to be removed. With such silence and caution was this decampment managed, that the slightest intelligence was not communicated, even to our sentinels, occupying the out posts. Early next morning, the enemy's camp was perceived to be evacuated; but what had become of them, and whither they had gone, could only be conjectured: no information on the subject was possessed. To ascertain the cause of this new and sudden appearance of things, detachments were in readiness to proceed, and reconnoitre their camp, when surgeon Wadswale, of the staff, arrived at our line, with a letter to general Jackson, from the British commander, announcing his determination to suspend, "for the present, all further operations against New Orleans," and requesting his humanity towards the wounded, whom necessity had compelled him to leave.

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British  
army re-  
tire to  
their  
shipping.

Detachments were now sent out, to ascertain the cause of this unexpected state of things; with orders to harass their rear, if a retreat were really intended. But the precaution taken by the enemy, and the ground over which they were retreating, prevented pursuit, in sufficient numbers to secure any valuable result. The system of operations which Jackson had prescribed for himself, he believed was such as policy sanctioned,

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nor to be abandoned but for advantages evidently certain, and which admitted not of question. To have pursued, on a route protected and defended by canals, redoubts, and entrenchments, would, at least, have been adventuring upon an uncertain issue, where success was extremely problematical.

Thus, at last, in total disappointment, terminated an invasion, from which much had been expected. Twenty-six days ago, flushed with the hope of certain victory, had this army erected its standard on the banks of the Mississippi. At that moment, they would have treated with contempt an assertion, that in ten days they would not enter the city of New Orleans. How changed the portrait, from the expected reality! But a few days since, and they were confident of the hour of triumph, and successful termination of their labours: now, vanquished, beaten, and cut to pieces, at midnight, under cover of its darkness, they are silently abandoning their camp,—breaking to pieces their artillery,—fleeing from an enemy, who, but a little while before, they held in utter contempt, and submitting their wounded to his clemency. A demonstration is given, which a Briton, short of absolute proof, would have been among the last to have admitted, that fourteen thousand troops, who, oftentimes, against the sternest opposition, had signalized themselves in battle, and marched to victory, could, under any circumstances, be beaten, and one-third of them destroyed, by an inferior number of men, who scarcely knew how to form in column, or deploy into lines: but they knew what was of infinitely more service, in nerving with strength the soldier's arm, and dispelling every

thing like fear,—that they were contending for their rights, against a power which was causelessly seeking their destruction,—for privilege against usurpation,—for liberty, in opposition to oppression:—that they were fighting for a country they loved, and for enjoyments, which, once lost, could never be regained. Prompted by these considerations, they had entered the field, and under their influence had acted. For their toils and privations, they were amply remunerated: they had met their own and country's expectations,—had saved a city from destruction—its inhabitants from cruelty and dishonour, and were carrying with them that consolation, which the recollection of a faithful discharge of duty never fails to inspire.

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There was no certainty that the contest was finally ended. The enemy had indeed retired, and, “for the present,” relinquished further operations against the country: but of what continuance their forbearance might be, whether they would not avail themselves of the first flattering opportunity, to renew the struggle, and wipe off the stain of a defeat so wholly unexpected, could not be doubted. The hopes and expectations indulged, in England, of the success of this expedition, had inspired the whole army; and failure had never been anticipated. They had now retired; yet, from their convenient situation, and having command of the surrounding waters, it was in their power, at a short notice, to re-appear, at the same, or some more favourable point,—cause a repetition of the hardships already encountered, and perhaps succeed in the accomplishment of their views. These considerations led general Jackson to conclude, that, al-

CHAP. though, for the present, there was an abandonment of  
XI. the enterprise, still it behoved him not to relax in his

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system of defence ; but be in constant readiness to maintain the advantages he had gained ; and not to risk a loss of the country, by a careless indifference, growing out of the belief that danger had subsided. To prevent such a result, suitable arrangements were made. The enemy being now again at their shipping, with entire control on the lakes and gulf, it could not be known at what point they might venture a second attack. General Jackson determined to withdraw his troops from the point they had so long occupied, and place them about the city, whence, to repel any further attempt that might be made, they could be advanced wherever it became necessary. The seventh regiment of infantry remained to protect the point he was leaving ; while, further in advance, on Villery's canal, where a landing had been first effected, were posted some of the Kentucky and Louisiana militia. To secure this point more effectually, orders were given, on the 22d, to throw up a strong fortification, at the junction of Manzanant and Bayou Bienvenu ; which order was again attempted to be executed, on the 25th. On both occasions, failure was the result, from the circumstance of the enemy having, on their retreat, left a strong detachment at this place, which, from their situation, defied approach by a force competent to their reduction. Their occupying this position afforded strong evidence that further hostilities were not wholly abandoned. To counteract, however, any advantages which might be thence derived, different points, along the swamp, and in the direction

of Terre au Bœuf, were occupied, and strong works CHAP.  
thrown up, to prevent their again reaching, in this di- XI.  
rection, the banks of the Mississippi.

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These arrangements being made, calculated, if not to prevent, at least to give intelligence of an approach, in time to be resisted; on the 20th, general Jackson, with his remaining forces, commenced his march to New Orleans. The general glow excited, at beholding his entrance into the city, at the head of his victorious army, was manifested by all those feelings which patriotism and sympathy inspire. The windows and streets were crowded, to view the man, who, by his vigilance, decision, and energy, had preserved the country from the fate to which it had been devoted. It was a scene well calculated to excite the tenderest emotions. But a few weeks since, and every bosom throbbed for its safety. Fathers, sons, and husbands, urged by the necessity of the times, were toiling in defence of their wives and children. A ferocious soldiery, numerous, and skilled in the art of war, to whom every indulgence had been promised, were straining exertion to effect their object. Every cannon that echoed from the line was perhaps the signal of their approach, and the commencement of indescribable horrors. But those feelings had subsided: the painful scenes, which had lasted so long, were gone. The tender female, relieved from the anguish of danger and suspense, no longer trembled for her safety and her honour: a new order of things had arisen: joy sparkled in every countenance; while scarcely a widow or orphan was seen, to cloud the general transport. The commanding general, under whose banners every thing had been

General  
Jackson  
returns to  
New Or-  
leans.

CHAP. achieved, deliberate, cool, and sparing of the lives  
 XI. of the brave defenders of their country, had dis-

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pelled the storm, which had so long threatened to involve the ruin of thousands ; and was now returning, safe and unhurt, those who had, with him, maintained the contest. His approach was hailed with acclamations : it was not the kind of applause, which, resulting from fear, is oftentimes extended by the subject to some conqueror or tyrant, returning in triumph ; but that which was extended by citizens to a citizen, springing from affection, and founded in the honest sincerity of the heart. All greeted his return, and hailed him as their deliverer.

But amidst the expression of thanks, and honours, and congratulations heaped upon him, he was not unmindful, that to an energy above his own, and to a wisdom which controls the destiny of nations, he was indebted for the glorious triumph of his arms. Relieved from the arduous duties of the field, his first concern was to draw the minds of all, in thankfulness and adoration, to that sovereign mercy, without whose aid, and inspiring counsel, vain are all earthly efforts.

Day of  
 thanks-  
 giving ap-  
 pointed.

The 23d having been appointed a day of prayer and thanksgiving, for the happy deliverance effected by our arms, he repaired to the cathedral. The church and altar were splendidly adorned, and more than could obtain admission had crowded to witness the ceremony. A grateful recollection of his exertions to save the country, was cherished by all ; nor did the solemnity of the occasion, even here, restrain a manifestation of their regard, or induce them to withhold the honour so no-



ly earned. Children, robed in white, and representing the different states, were employed in strewing the way with flowers; while, as he passed, the following ode saluted his ears.—

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Hail to the chief! who hied at war's alarms,  
To save our threaten'd land from hostile arms;  
Preserv'd, protected by his gallant care,  
Be his the grateful tribute of each fair:  
With joyful triumph swell the choral lay—  
Strew, strew with flow'rs the hero's welcome way.  
Jackson, all hail! our country's pride and boast,  
Whose mind 's a council, and whose arm 's an host;  
Who, firm and valiant, 'midst the storm of war,  
Boasts unstain'd praise—laurels without a tear:  
Welcome, blest chief! accept our grateful lays,  
Unbidden homage, and spontaneous praise;  
Remembrance, long, shall keep alive thy fame,  
And future infants learn to lisp thy name.

When the general reached the church, the reverend administrator of the diocese met him at the door. Addressing him in a strain of pious eloquence, he intreated him to remember, that his splendid achievements, which were echoed from every tongue, were to be ascribed to Him, to whom all praise was due. "Let the votary of blind chance," continued he, "deride our credulous simplicity. Let the cold-hearted atheist look for an explanation of important events, to the mere concatenation of human causes; to us, the whole world is loud in proclaiming a Supreme Ruler, who, as he holds the destiny of man in his hands, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences: from his lofty throne, he moves every scene below,—infuses his wisdom into the rulers of nations, and executes his un-

CHAP. controllable judgments on the sons of men, according  
 XI. to the dictates of his own unerring justice." He con-

1815.

cluded his impressive address, by presenting the general with a wreath of laurel, woven for the occasion, and which he desired him to accept as "a prize of victory."

General Jackson, accepting the pledge, presented by the reverend prelate, as a mark of distinguished favour, returned him a reply no less impressive than the address he had received. He was now conducted in, and seated near the altar, when the organ, and church ceremonies commenced, and inspired every mind with a solemn reverence for the occasion.\* These being ended, he retired to his quarters, to renew a system of defence, which should ensure entire safety, and ward off any future danger that might arise. The right bank of the Mississippi was now strengthened by additional reinforcements, and a strong position taken on La Fourche, to prevent any passage in that direction. Suitable arrangements for security having been already made below the city, generals Coffee and Carroll were instructed to resume their former encampment, four miles above, where they had been stationed previously to the landing of the enemy. The rest of the troops were arranged at different points, where necessity seemed most to require it, and where they might be convenient for action, on the first appearance of danger.

Previously to general Lambert's departure, articles of agreement had been entered into, by the commanders of the two armies, for an exchange of prisoners; in pursuance of which, sixty-three Americans, taken on

\* See note E.

the night of the 23d, from the left wing of general Coffee's brigade, had been delivered up: the remainder, principally those who had been taken at the capture of our gun boats, were shortly afterwards surrendered by admiral Cochrane, and an equal number of British prisoners, in our possession, sent off to be delivered at the Balize.

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The enemy had now withdrawn from the shore, all the troops which had been landed, and occupied their former position at Cat and Ship Island. Mortified at their unexpected disaster, they were projecting a plan, by which it was expected a partial advantage would be secured, and the stigma of defeat obliterated.

February.

Fort Bowyer had been once assailed, with a considerable force, by land and water, and failure had resulted. This post, the key to Mobile, and considered of infinite consequence, had been retained under the command of him, who heretofore had defended it so valiantly. The British commander, turning from those scenes of disappointment and wretchedness lately witnessed, and anxious to retrieve his fortunes, before he retired with his shattered and diminished forces, perceived no place, against which he might proceed, with better founded hopes of success. Its importance, in a military point of view, has been already shewn: but, dispirited and reduced as the enemy now were, even should they possess it, they would not have it in their power to derive those advantages, which were heretofore so greatly apprehended.

On the 6th of February, the British shipping appeared off Dauphin Island, fronting the point on which

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Legisla-  
ture re-  
com-  
mence  
their ses-  
sion.

together overlooked or disregarded, and more money spent by the government, in erecting shelters, to protect the frigate from the weather, than would have been sufficient for her completion.

The legislature of Louisiana had re-commenced their session. The necessity which had induced a suspension of their deliberations, being removed, by the departure of the enemy, they were no longer restricted in the exercise of their constitutional privileges. Some of the members, during the past struggle, had forsaken their official duties, and repaired to the field, where more important services were to be rendered, and where they had manifested a zeal and devotion to their country worthy of imitation. A much greater part, however, had pursued a very opposite course, and stood aloof from the impending danger. The disposition they had shown, on the 28th of December, to propose a capitulation with the enemy, has been adverted to: how far it was calculated to estrange the public sentiment from that conviction, which general Jackson had, throughout, endeavoured to rivet and impress, "that the country could and would be successfully defended," can be easily imagined. But with them he had sinned beyond forgiveness. The course he had adopted,—his arresting their proceedings, and suspending their deliberations, by placing an armed force at the door of the capitol, were viewed as infringements upon legislative prerogative,—denounced as an abuse of power, and the first opportunity seized, to exhibit their resentment against the man who had stood forth in opposition to, and defeated their de-

signs. Whether it were better to indulge them in a heedless course, that led to no other object than individual advancement, or, by interposing a remedy, arrest the foul purpose intended, preserve the nation from dishonour, and avert the dangerous consequences involved, was not a matter requiring much deliberation; nor was it an act, to justify the legislature in treating with marked disrespect, him who was the efficient cause of all that had been achieved.

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XI.

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No sooner had they resumed the exercise of their duties, than their first concern was to pass in review, the incidents of the last month. To those who had acted vigilantly in the defence of the state, and who, by their toils and exertions, had contributed to its safety, they tendered their thanks. In pursuance of this resolution, the governor addressed the principal officers: but of Jackson, nothing was said. We are not disposed to recriminate on the conduct of this body, though the circumstances present no very favourable appearance. When danger threatened, they were disposed to make terms with the enemy, and obtain their safety by a surrender of the city: from this they were prevented, by a decision of character, that compelled legislative to yield to military authority. Greatly incensed at being thus unexpectedly restrained in the execution of their designs; no sooner do they resume the duties of their station, than they are lavish in the praise of those who adopted and pursued a course directly contrary to their own; while, in that commendation and approval, they intentionally neglect the hero to whom their section of country owed its salvation. But to Jackson, this

CHAP. was an immaterial circumstance : he had a mind inca-  
 XI. pable of being inflated by applause, or depressed by  
 1815. unmerited censure. He knew, full well, that his  
 countrymen would duly appreciate his conduct, trace  
 his actions to proper motives, and extend "honour to  
 whom honour was due." *Humanum est errare*, was  
 a maxim from which he claimed no exemption ; but a  
 conviction resting on his mind, and which alone had  
 prompted him to the course he had taken, was, that if  
 he had erred, it was for the general good : if legisla-  
 tive prerogative had been invaded, it was to save the  
 actors from themselves : if constitutional forms and  
 provisions had been violated, the country had been  
 thereby protected from outrage, dishonour, and ruin.  
 These afforded consolatory reflections, which the ne-  
 glect or censures of none could disturb, or take away.  
 Mindful of what he owed to his country, and what  
 was expected at his hands, he continued a course, cal-  
 culated to preserve the advantages he had secured, re-  
 gardless of the cabal and intrigue of party.

Discon-  
 tents  
 among the  
 American  
 troops.

Appearances in the American camp were about this  
 time assuming an unfavourable aspect : present dan-  
 ger and alarm being removed, confusion was arising,  
 and disaffection spreading through the ranks. Pretexts  
 were sought after, to escape the drudgery of the field.  
 Many naturalized citizens, who had been brought into  
 the service, and made to aid in the general defence,  
 were now seeking an exemption from further control,  
 and claiming to be subjects of the king of France.  
 Some were indeed foreigners : but most of them had,  
 by naturalization, become citizens of the United States.  
 Notwithstanding this, as French subjects, they were

seeking, and actually procuring, exonerations through Monsieur Toussard, the consul resident at New Orleans. No applicant ever went away unsupplied, and hundreds had obtained his protections, which were to relieve them from the drudgery of the field, and the ties due to their adopted country. Harassed by such evils, that were every day increasing; and having strong and satisfactory reasons to believe that the enemy, then within a few hours sail of the shore, were constantly advised of his situation, Jackson determined to adopt such measures, as would at once put down the machinations of the guilty and designing. Monsieur Toussard, thus manifesting a warmth of attachment to the English, and a desire to aid them, for the services they had given in the restoration of his monarch, was ordered to leave the city,—retire to the interior of the country, nor venture to return, until peace were restored. His countrymen, too, who were disposed to claim his protection, and abandon the service, were ordered to follow him, and not to appear again about New Orleans. The general did this, with a view to his own security, and from a conviction, that those who thus shamefully sought to avoid a contest, threatened against a country which they had adopted, and whose privileges and benefits they had so long enjoyed, would not scruple, if an occasion offered, to inflict any injury in their power:—he believed his camp, or its vicinity, by no means a proper place, where such characters should be permitted to loiter.

Our own citizens, too, were giving rise to difficulties, and increasing the danger of the moment. Mr. Livingston had arrived on the 10th, from the British

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1815.

CHAP. fleet, whither he had gone to effect a general cartel :  
XI. through him, admiral Cochrane had announced the ar-  
1815. rival of a vessel from Jamaica, with news of a peace  
having been agreed on by the two countries. This  
information was immediately caught by the news-mon-  
gers, and either from intention, or want of correct in-  
telligence, suddenly appeared in the Louisiana gazette,  
in an entirely different shape : it stated the arrival of a  
flag at head quarters, which announced the conclusion  
of a peace, and requested a suspension of hostilities.  
The effect of such a declaration would be, to intro-  
duce disaffection among the troops, and induce them  
to believe that their accustomed vigilance was no long-  
er necessary. Sensible of this, general Jackson instruct-  
ed the editor to alter what he had stated, and exhibit  
the facts truly as they were. He adopted this course,  
from an apprehension of serious consequences. One  
thing he well knew, that the enemy had retired, un-  
der circumstances of mortification and humbled feel-  
ing, at their complete discomfiture; nor was it an im-  
probable conjecture, that they would yet seek an ac-  
complishment of their views, through any channel a  
hope of success could be discerned. Might not this  
declaration of a peace, and request for the suspension of  
hostilities, introduced before the public, be a devise to  
induce a relaxation in his system of operation and de-  
fence ; to divert his officers and soldiers from that at-  
tention, and activity, so essential to security,—to excite  
discontents and murmurings, and a desire to be dis-  
charged from the further drudgery of a camp ? All  
these dangers he saw lurking beneath it, if false ; and  
whether true or false, it was foreign to his duty to be



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influenced by any thing, not communicated officially by his government. Fearful of the effects it might produce, he lost no time in addressing his army: "how disgraceful," he remarked, "as well as disastrous, would it be, if, by surrendering ourselves credulously to newspaper publications,—often proceeding from ignorance, but more frequently from dishonest design, we should permit an enemy, whom we have so lately and so gloriously beaten, to regain the advantages he has lost, and triumph over us in turn." A general order, at the same time, announced that no publication relating to, or affecting the army, was to be published in any newspaper, without first obtaining permission. It has been objected, that this prohibition, going to restrict the exercise of a constitutional right, was an outrage on the feelings and liberty of the country: but if the press be of so sacred and intangible a character, that it may adopt and pursue a course, calculated to scatter dissensions, and excite mutiny in the ranks of an army, when in the very face of an enemy, without the power of control, it is a circumstance much to be regretted. Reflecting minds will determine, if an interposition of power were not necessary, to restrain so dangerous a freedom, and to avert injury from a country, whose protection the press, when it seeks to injure, ceases to deserve.

Notwithstanding this prohibition, shortly afterwards, an anonymous publication appeared in the Louisiana Courier, calculated to excite mutiny among the troops, and afford the enemy intelligence of the situation and disposition of the army. It was now high time, the general believed, to act with decision, and prove, by

CHAP. the rigid exercise of authority, that such conduct mi-  
 XI. litated against the police and safety of his camp, and

1815.

required not to be passed over with impunity. The enemy had heretofore effected a landing, secretly, and without opposition; and although beaten, might again return. If spies were to be nestled in his camp, and permitted to go forth to the world, with the gleanings of their industry, it was folly to believe the enemy would not profit by the information. Martial law still prevailed in New Orleans, and he resolved to put it in execution against those, who manifested such evident disregard of the public good. The editor was immediately sent for to the general's quarters; he stated the author of the piece to be — Louaillier, a member of the legislature, and was thereupon discharged.

March.

Louaillier was arrested, and detained for trial. This circumstance afforded civilians a fair opportunity of testing, if it were in the power of a commanding general to raise the military above the civil authority, and render it superior by any declaration of his. Application was made to judge Hall, for a writ of habeas corpus, which was immediately issued. The general, to render the example as efficacious as possible, and from information that the judge had been much more officious than his duty required, determined to arrest him also, and thereby at once to settle the question of authority. On a matter involving such important consequences, he believed it best to have it determined in a way calculated to silence opposition, and shew that he was resolved to put down every effort to thwart the measures he had adopted for defence, or which was in-

tended to destroy the police, which he had established for the tranquillity of his camp. CHAP.  
XI.

Instead of surrendering Mr. Louaillier, therefore, and acting in obedience to the writ, he seized the person of the judge, and, on the 11th of the month, sent him from the city, with these instructions, "I have thought proper to send you beyond the limits of my encampment, to prevent a repetition of the improper conduct with which you have been charged. You will remain without the line of my sentinels, until the ratification of peace is regularly announced, or until the British shall have left the southern coast." He did this, believing he was right, in the declaration of martial law, and that the good sense of judge Hall should, at so momentous a period, have taught him a different course. He did it, because disposed to give complete effect to his measures,—to silence opposition, and satisfy the refractory and designing, that judicial interference should not mar the execution of his plans, or afford a screen, behind which treason might stalk unmolested. He did it, to make the example effectual, and to obtain, through fear, that security which could not be had through love of country. 1815.  
Judge  
Hall ar-  
rested.

The mind coolly calculating, in the closet, the principles of right and wrong, cannot fairly appreciate the merits of this question. Proper inferences can be only drawn, by bearing in recollection all those circumstances which existed at the moment. That a zeal suited to the occasion, was not felt by all, the events already adverted to abundantly prove. The course pursued by the legislature had evidenced a feeling and conduct, which had forfeited reliance; while the

CHAP. XI. enemy being, as we have heretofore shown, constantly  
1815. advised of every thing transacted in the American  
camp, plainly evinced, that safety and success were to  
be attained in no other way, than by pursuing a course  
at once firm and determined.

The militia had already grown tired of the field, and sighed to be discharged from their toils. To impress on their minds a conviction, that, peace being restored, they were unnecessarily detained in service, when it rested on rumour alone; or to attempt, by any course of conduct, to render them more disaffected, carried with it such a degree of criminality and guilt, as could not be permitted, without endangering the safety of the country. This spirit of discontent had become extensively diffused. The different posts, which had been established, could be, with difficulty maintained. The Kentucky troops, and two hundred of the Louisiana militia, stationed in defence of Villery's canal, had abandoned their post. Chef Menteur, too, no less important, had been forsaken by one hundred and fifty of the Louisianians, in despite of the remonstrances and exertions of their officers to detain them. Governor Claiborne had been heard to declare, in words of mysterious import, that serious difficulties would be shortly witnessed in New Orleans. For the commanding general, at a time like this, when disaffection was spreading like contagion through his camp, patiently to have stood, and witnessed mutiny fomented and encouraged by persons who, from their standing in society, were calculated to possess a dangerous influence, would have been a crime he never could have sufficiently atoned, had injury resulted. He thought

it time enough to relax in his operations, and ground  
 his arms, when the conclusion of peace should be an-  
 nounced, through the proper authorities. Until then,  
 believing his duty required it, he resolved to maintain  
 his advantages, and check opposition, at every hazard.  
 To have obeyed the writ would have been idle. He  
 had declared the existence of military authority, and  
 thereby intended to supersede all judicial power. If  
 he had obeyed the mandate, it would have been an  
 acknowledgment of civil supremacy, and a virtual  
 abandonment of the course he had adopted. It was  
 not an improbable event, that the petitioner would be  
 discharged, on a hearing, because guilty of no offence  
 cognizable by the civil courts. He had not levied war  
 against the country, nor directly aided the enemy; but  
 had done that which was paralyzing exertion, scatter-  
 ing dissension, introducing mutiny, and thinning the  
 ranks of the army. Either, then, judicial interference  
 should have been disregarded, or the arrest was wholly  
 unnecessary. But whether the course pursued were  
 right or wrong, the effect was important: good order  
 was restored, and disorganizers hushed to silence.

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On the 13th of the month, two days after the de-  
 parture of judge Hall from the city, an express reach-  
 ed head quarters, with despatches from the war de-  
 partment, announcing the conclusion of a peace be-  
 tween Great Britain and the United States, and direct-  
 ing a cessation of hostilities. A similar communica-  
 tion from his government was received by general  
 Lambert, shortly afterwards, and, on the 19th, military  
 operations, by the two armies, entirely ceased. The  
 aspect of affairs was now changing: the militia were

Peace an-  
nounced.

CHAP. discharged from service ; bustle was subsiding ; and  
XI. joy and tranquillity every where appearing. A pro-  
clamation, by the directions of the president of the  
1815. United States, was issued, extending pardon and for-  
giveness for past offences.

Judge Hall, being restored to the exercise of those functions, of which he had been lately bereaved, by military arrest, proceeded, without loss of time, to an examination of what had passed, and to become the arbiter of his own wrongs and injuries. Accordingly, on the 21st, he granted a rule of court for general Jackson to appear, and show cause why an attachment for contempt should not be awarded, on the ground that he had refused to obey a writ issued to him,—detained an original paper belonging to the court, and imprisoned the judge.\*

In this case, there was certainly too much room for an improper indulgence of feeling, for the judge, the injured party, to have claimed any kind of interference : it would have been more advisable to have appealed to a jury of his country, and thus brought before a dispassionate tribunal, the question of the illegality of his arrest and detention. But by becoming the prosecutor and arbiter of his own grievances, he placed himself in a situation, where reason could have but little agency, calculated to do injustice, and attach to his decision suspicion and censure. It would have been

\* The writ had been detained, and a certified copy given, on account of its having been altered by judge Hall, in a material part. The general's reasons for the detention will be found in his answer, at the end of the volume.

more satisfactory to Jackson, to have met the inquiry **CHAP.**  
before a less partial tribunal, yet he did not hesitate, **XI.**  
although he was well convinced of its being an extra-  
judicial proceeding, to appear, and submit the grounds **1815.**  
which he believed fully acquitted him of all alleged  
guilt. The trial by jury was secured, generally, in  
criminal prosecutions, and in all others, except where  
the law, from conceived necessity, had directed a more  
summary course. But the authority of courts had al-  
ready settled, that statutes founded upon a constitu-  
tional permission, and which infringed the privilege of  
jury trial, were never to receive a liberal construction,  
but to be exercised only in cases, which came strictly  
within their letter: inasmuch, therefore, as the in-  
dignity complained of was not clearly within the  
provisions of any existing law, it was believed the  
court possessed no jurisdiction,—that it deserved to  
be classed with general injuries, and inquired into by  
a jury. Claiming to himself, this and other excep-  
tions to the jurisdiction, he met the investigation. He  
was the more disposed to do so, because the busy po-  
liticians of the city had condemned his acts, without  
seeking for the reasons which induced them. An op-  
portunity was now presented, of developing them fully,  
and bringing to the view of his country, the weighty  
considerations that had influenced his mind, and to  
which, in a great measure, were to be ascribed the pro-  
tection and safety the country had experienced.

On the 24th, his appearance being entered, he stood  
represented at the bar by John Reid, his aid-de-camp, **Prosecu-**  
and Messrs. Livingston and Duncan. Major Reid **tion for**  
addressing the court, remarked, that he appeared with **contempt**  
**of court.**

CHAP. the general's answer, supported by an affidavit, going  
XI. to show, that the rule should be discharged, and no  
1815. further proceedings had against him. A curious course  
of judicial proceeding was now witnessed. A cause  
was to be shown, and yet the judge would determine,  
whether it were exceptionable or not, previously to  
being heard or seen. The counsel urged in vain, the  
propriety of his first hearing, before he decided if the  
answer were consonant with propriety. This was over-  
ruled. He would first determine what it should be.  
If within any of the rules laid down, it should be heard,  
—not else.

"If," said he, "the party object to the jurisdiction,  
he shall be heard.

"If it be a denial of facts; or that the facts charged  
do not amount to a contempt, he shall be heard.

"If it be an apology to the court; or show, that by  
the constitution and laws of the United States, or in  
virtue of his military commission, he had a right to act  
as charged, the court will hear him."

Hear! and you can then decide if it come under  
any of these general rules, was replied and argued at  
length by his counsel, as being the correct and proper  
course.

After much time spent in debate, Major Reid was  
at length permitted to proceed. He had gotten through  
the exceptions reserved as to the jurisdiction, and was  
proceeding with the respondent's reasons, showing the  
necessity, and consequent propriety, of declaring mar-  
tial law, when he was again interrupted, because com-  
ing within none of the rules laid down. The ears of  
the court were closed against every thing, of argument



or reason, and without hearing the defence, the rule was made absolute, and the attachment sued out. CHAP.  
XI.

This process was made returnable on the 31st. The general appeared. It was demanded of him to answer nineteen interrogatories, drawn up with much labour and form, which were to determine as to his guilt or innocence. He informed the court he would not be interrogated; that he had, on a former occasion, presented the reasons which had influenced his conduct, without their producing an effect, or being even heard. "You would not hear my defence, although you were advised it contained nothing improper, and ample reasons why no attachment should be awarded. Under these circumstances, I appear before you, to receive the sentence of the court, and have nothing further to add." 1815.

"Your honour will not understand me as intending any disrespect to the court; but as no opportunity has been afforded me of explaining the reasons and motives by which I was influenced, so is it expected, that censure will constitute no part of that sentence, which you imagine it your duty to pronounce."

The judge proceeded to a final discharge of what he conceived the offended majesty of the laws required, and fined the general a thousand dollars.

The hall, in which this business was transacted, was crowded with spectators. The indignation manifested by all was great. Having retired from the presence of the court, and passed into his carriage, it was seized by the people, and carried forcibly to the coffee-house, amidst the huzzas of an immense concourse, that surrounded it. Relieved from this display of the

CHAP. public regard and gratitude, for his exertions in their  
XI. defence, he retired to his quarters, and, giving his aid  
1815. a check, sent him to discharge the fine imposed, and  
thus terminated his contest with the civil authority.

So rivetted was the impression, that the course pursued by the general was correct, and the conduct of judge Hall more the result of spleen than any thing else, that the citizens of New Orleans determined to ward off the effect of his intended injury, by discharging, themselves, the fine imposed. It was only necessary to be thought of, and it was done. So numerous were the persons, entertaining the same feelings on the subject, that in a short time the entire sum was raised, by voluntary contribution. The general, understanding what was in agitation, to spare his own and their feelings; despatched his aid-de-camp to seek the marshal, and thereby avoided the necessity of refusing a favour, intended to be offered, and which he could not have accepted.

Those who are disposed to be informed further upon this subject, and to know if he acted correctly, in declaring martial law, or whether, short of the stern and determined course adopted, he could have effected the important ends he accomplished, and preserved from dishonour, wretchedness, and ruin, the country and its inhabitants, can refer to the able and elegant answer, submitted to the court, and which was refused to be heard. It is replete with reasons, calculated to satisfy the mind that the course he took was required by every principle of propriety and necessity.\*

\* See note F.

To suspend the writ of habeas corpus, belongs to CHAP.  
congress, by the constitution. It restricts any inter- XI.  
ference, but in cases of invasion or insurrection. To  
say that it is a privilege which must be continued, until  
discharged by a law, embracing the circumstances of 1815.  
every case that may arise, is to suppose a something  
that never can happen. An invasion might be made,  
a thousand miles from the seat of government, or in  
the recess of congress, when no authority, competent  
to act, did exist. The Roman maxim, *inter arma*  
*silent leges*, had its origin in the necessities of the re-  
public. In all governments, there are moments of  
danger and distress, when, no matter how cautiously  
protected be the rights of the citizens, they must be  
disregarded, not for the purpose of being destroyed,  
but more permanently secured. Certainly none but  
an officer, acting upon an enemy's line, privy to all his  
intrigues, stratagems, and wiles, can so correctly judge  
of the emergency, requiring the exercise of such power.  
He assumes a weighty responsibility ; but, with an in-  
telligent world, hazards no more, than to be able to  
show, that threatening danger, and unavoidable neces-  
sity, required him to act. Cases have occurred, where-  
in the constitution has been violated without reproach.  
Few generals have respected private property, when the  
country afforded provisions, and their armies were in  
want ; they have wrested them from the owner. Here,  
it may be said, compensation and atonement can be of-  
fered, but none for the violation of personal liberty : this  
is a distinction without a difference, because both rights  
are equally sacred, and the infringement of one, no  
less a constitutional violation than the other. We

CHAP. would have but little cause to applaud the prudence,  
 XI. energy, or good sense of a general, who should suffer  
 1815. distress and want in his camp, mutiny in his army,  
 and ruin to his country, when he possessed the means  
 of preventing them, but omitted their exercise, be-  
 cause the constitution forbade him to act. Highly as  
 we may appreciate the man, who, when clothed with  
 authority, avoids infringing this sacred shield of our  
 liberty, yet, to hesitate, when surrounded by peril and  
 danger, would deservedly attach to him the censures  
 of the patriotic and the good. Whenever individual  
 rights are trampled on, and personal liberty disregard-  
 ed and violated, merited reproach will pursue him  
 whose only justification is, that he possessed the pow-  
 er: but, when founded on necessity,—demanded by  
 the exigency of the moment, and obviously resorted  
 to, for the protection and safety of the country, it will  
 be excused, approved, nay even commended: nor  
 will the act be punished, unless some victim to it  
 should chance to sit in judgment.

Militia  
 are dis-  
 charged.

The war being now ended, it was indispensable to  
 hasten the necessary arrangements, to relieve from the  
 toils of the field, those brave men, who had so long  
 been struggling in their country's defence. The ne-  
 cessary measures to effect this were adopted. The  
 Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi troops had  
 taken their departure. General Gaines being invested  
 with the command, in a few days, general Jackson left  
 New Orleans for Nashville. The good wishes and  
 friendship of the people followed him: there were some  
 who rejoiced; they were those, however, who, in mo-  
 ments of peril, had stood aloof from danger, or sought

to increase it. They had no unpleasant sensations, at being relieved from the presence of one who, they believed, was well acquainted with the abandoned course they had pursued : but the great body of the citizens, mindful of his vigilance, and the weighty privations he had encountered for their safety and protection, fondly cherished a recollection of what he had done. Previously to breaking up his camp, he addressed his army, and declared the high sense he entertained of those valiant men, who, with him, had toiled in the field, and who, by perseverance and fidelity, had obtained safety for their country, and honour for themselves.\*

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On his return, the respect of all was manifested in his behalf :—all evinced a partiality for the man whose signal achievements had raised his country to a high and dignified standing, and whose unremitting exertions had closed the war with a lustre that enlightened even the blots of its commencement. He carried with him a consciousness of having discharged his duty ; and although, from necessity, he had been compelled to the exercise of rigid severity, which he would gladly have avoided, yet now, when feeling was lulled, and danger past, he beheld nothing to excite regret, or convince him he was wrong. If, however, he could before have doubted, this general manifestation of public regard was sufficient to quiet his apprehensions. The citizens of the United States were yet too virtuous, merely because of his victories, to bestow such unqualified approbation, could they have believed that

\* See note G.

CHAP. XI. when vested with power, he had wantonly trampled on the rights of individuals, and outraged the sacred principles of the constitution. Yet was this approval of his conduct not only evinced by citizens of the country where he passed, but by congress and the legislatures of the different states,—all bore testimony to the propriety of his measures, by the commendations they bestowed.

1815.

General  
Jackson  
returns to  
Nash-  
ville.

A tedious journey of eight hundred miles brought him to Nashville, where he was gratified with a further evidence of a people's regard. An immense concourse was collected, to greet his return, and welcome his arrival. They had long known him as among the number of their best and most respectable citizens; but curiosity had a new incentive: until now, they had not beheld him as one, who, to protect his country, knew no difficulty too great to be encountered,—who, by his firmness and unconquerable perseverance, amidst surrounding dangers, had shielded her from foreign and intestine foes. An elegant address, drawn up and delivered by Mr. Grundy, welcomed his return. Relieved from this further display of public confidence, the more grateful, because from those who were his acquaintances, neighbours, and friends, he retired home, to enjoy that repose, to which, for eighteen months, he had been a stranger.

His per-  
son and  
character.

In the person of general Jackson, is perceived nothing of the robust or elegant. He is six feet and an inch high, remarkably straight and spare, and weighs not more than a hundred and forty-five pounds. His conformation appears to disqualify him for hardship; yet, accustomed to it from early life, few are capable

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of enduring fatigue to the same extent, or with less injury. His dark blue eyes, with brows arched and projecting, possess a marked expression; but when, from any cause, excited, they sparkle with peculiar lustre and penetration. In his manners he is pleasing,—in his address commanding; while his countenance, marked with firmness and decision, beams with a strength and intelligence that strikes at first sight. In his deportment, there is nothing repulsive. Easy, affable, and familiar, he is open and accessible to all. Influenced by the belief, that merit should constitute the only difference in men, his attention is equally bestowed on honest poverty, as on titled consequence. No man, however inconsiderable his standing, ever approached him on business, that he did not patiently listen to his story, and afford him all the information in his power. His moral character is without reproach, and by those who know him most intimately, he is most esteemed. Benevolence, in him, is a prominent virtue, that never passed distress, without seeking to assist and relieve. He is, however, not without some of those foibles, which heaven always mingles in the composition of man. Vice and virtue are often found in the same bosom, which, like light and shade in a picture, reflect each other in brighter contrast. Deriving from his birth a temper irritable and hasty, it has had the effect to create enemies, and involve him in disputes, which have sometimes brought him to the field of individual contest. On this subject, he has been heard to remark, that, throughout life, he had made it a settled rule, never to insult, or wantonly assail, the feelings of any. Controlled by this golden rule, and in-

CHAP. fluenced by reason, we should doubtless seldom err ;

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but it is a misfortune incident to nature, that the mind, when irritated, not unfrequently adduces improper conclusions from premises, and ascribes intention to conduct and language, in themselves innocent. Wise is he, peculiarly blest, and greatly to be envied, who, in every situation, before he acts, can deliberately think. It was this quality, which, on his entering the army, induced many to fear he would prove too rash for a safe commander,—that occasions would arise, when he would suffer his judgment to be estranged, through the improper exercise of feeling. Events have proved the fallacy of the conjecture, and shown, that there were none who reasoned more dispassionately on the fitness and propriety of measures,—none more cautious, where caution was necessary, or more adventurous, when daring efforts were required. Few generals had ever to seek for order, amidst a higher state of confusion, or obtained success through more pressing difficulties. The effects he produced, under circumstances gloomy and inauspicious, now through his eloquence and persuasion, and again by his firmness, portrays a character for decision, and a mind intimate and familiar with human nature. That the hireling soldier, prodigal of his life, because his sovereign orders, and the mere echo of his superiors, should entertain a respect for his commander, is too commonly the case, to excite surprise : of such materials, general Jackson's army was not composed ; they were freemen,—citizens ; yet, with the exception of those who abandoned him, in his first advance against the Indians, there was scarcely one who served with



him, officer or soldier, that was not warmly and particularly attached to him. CHAP.  
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General Jackson possesses ambition, but it rests on virtue; an ambition, which, regulated by a high sense of honour, leads him to desire "that applause which follows good actions,—not that which is run after." No man is more disposed to hear and respect the opinions of others, and none where much is at stake, and at conflict with his own, less under their influence. He has never been known to call a council of war, whose decisions, when made, were to shield him from responsibility or censure. His council of war, if doubting himself, was a few officers, in whom he fully confided, whose advice was regarded, if their reasons were conclusive; but these not being satisfactory, he at once adopted and pursued the course suggested by his own mind. 1815.

Much as we may delight to range through the field of battle, in quest of acts, to fix a hero's character, yet inconsiderable circumstances often mark it much more strongly: it is then that the mind, retiring from every thing like motive, gives a loose to impulse, and acts from feeling alone. The general, who meets and repels his country's foes, is not unfrequently impelled by ambition, and a recollection that a nation's gratitude will succeed his efforts: but when, amidst the general carnage, he is seen acting as a Christian, and sympathizing in others' woes, his character is marked by virtue, and more truly ennobled. At the battle of Tohopeka, an infant was found, pressed to the bosom of its lifeless mother. This circumstance being made known to general Jackson, he became interested for

CHAP. the child, directed it to be brought to him, and sought  
XI. to prevail on some of the Indian women to take care  
1815. of and rear it. They signified their unwillingness  
to do so, and that, inasmuch as all its relations had  
fallen in the battle, they would prefer it should be  
killed. The general, after this disclosure, determined  
he would not entrust it with them, but become himself  
the protector and guardian of the child. Bestowing  
on the infant the name of Lincoier, he adopted it into  
his family, and has ever since manifested the liveliest  
zeal towards it, prompted by benevolence, and because  
its fate bore a strong resemblance to his own, who, in  
early life, and from the ravages of war, was left in the  
world, forlorn and wretched, without friends, or near  
relations.

Of the two great parties, which have distracted our  
country, general Jackson is attached to the republican.  
In his first political career, he rallied on the side of the  
people. During Mr. Adams' administration, when  
the party was few and inconsiderable, he appeared on  
the side of the rights of man, espousing and advocating  
the principles of tolerance and free will; until, disgust-  
ed with the mode of administering the government, he  
retired from the legislative councils of the nation. He  
is not, however, one of those blind infatuated parti-  
zans, who holds the opinions of others in derision, and  
determines on the good or bad qualities of a man, ac-  
cordingly as he belongs to this or the other sect; but,  
influenced by the belief, that there are many base and  
designing, and amiable and virtuous men on both  
sides, acts on the liberal principle, that

"Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow."

Could such sentiments be generally diffused, of what importance would they not be to our country !

CHAP. XI.

1815.

We are aware of the opinion indulged by many wise politicians, that parties ensure a nation's safety, by acting as spies on, and correctors of, each other's conduct. Such an idea may answer, in a country where individuals' rights are merged in the exaltation of a few, and where the contest is for the loaves and fishes, and not in relation to difference in opinion : but in ours, whose government is derived from the people, so long as they continue virtuous and intelligent, and will duly appreciate their rights, no such auxiliary can be essential, either to her happiness or tranquillity. Already we have witnessed it the cause of innumerable evils : but for the hopes and expectations of a designing power, which, through our dissensions and domestic broils, believed she would be able seriously to affect us, we might have remained at peace, and preserved the lives of many of our valuable citizens. That there should be a difference of opinion among us, is certainly nothing strange : it is only in governments absolutely despotic, that the oppressed and trembling subjects imbibe the sentiments of the sovereign and his ministers, and appear to think with them, because they dare not assert their own opinions. Our constitution, on this subject, bars every check, and leaves our conduct, words, and actions free ; yet, were our prudence consulted and regarded, it would long since have told us, that party rancour was carried much too far, both for our own and the honour of our country. We are far, however, from supposing that it is a circumstance, whence foreign powers can ever derive an advantage, by which

CHAP. materially to endanger our rights. Although we may  
XI. differ, as to the best mode of administering the govern-  
1815. ment, a circumstance which happens to all in propor-  
tion as liberty is enjoyed ; and although, as has been  
the case, party spirit may be carried beyond what rea-  
son or prudence may sanction, yet against the invaders  
of our rights, our union is strong, and all parties are  
the same. Should the period ever arrive, when our  
nation shall be vitally assailed, it will be perceived  
that all advantages calculated to arise from our jarrings,  
are delusive ; that there will be but one party, all ral-  
lied in defence of a country, believed by them to be  
the freest and happiest, resolved to swim, or sink to-  
gether.

The proclamations disseminated by Great Britain to the people of the United States, were mockery,—an insult to our understandings, and a reflection on her own : but the divisions she saw, prevailing among us, were no doubt, the inducement. If ever there were a time, when she could have even partially effected the disorganization so industriously endeavoured to be fomented, and reached us through our differences, it was before she had, by an unusual, and hitherto unpractised system of warfare, destroyed all confidence, and excited our just indignation against her ; and before, too, she had so effectually aided to subvert the liberty of France, and plunge her in a state of absolute vassalage, when, throughout, the professed and openly avowed object was to rescue from oppression, and make her “ free indeed.” When such an example, with all its wretched and fatal consequences, is held

up to view, well may nations spurn every external interference, however plausibly it may be offered.

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The principles of our government are at variance with war—those of her citizens no less so. If, amidst the general confusion of the world, we have been forced into a struggle, it was for the preservation of our rights, and to resist aggressions which had become too numerous and grievous to be longer borne. With nations, as with individuals, a submission to insult but authorizes a repetition; and forbearance under injuries is construed into imbecility to redress them. We boast not of any thing acquired by our contest. Conquest and power were not the inducements to its commencement: what was sought has been attained. We have secured from other nations a respect, which our peaceful habits had forfeited. We have brought more closely into view our own strength, and our own resources; and shown our enemies, that, however we may be solicitous for peace, and opposed to war, there is a point, where even patience becomes exhausted. But, above all, our contest has had the effect of drawing closer the cords of our union,—quieting party opposition, and allaying discontent. In future, therefore, when we shall be told we have gained nothing by the war, laying aside all other considerations, we will point to our union, which it has more strongly and indissolubly cemented, as of greater importance than any thing that has happened, since the all-glorious hour our Independence was declared.

THE END.



## NOTES.

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Note A—page 211.

*Proclamation of colonel Nicholls to the southern and western inhabitants.*

NATIVES of Louisiana! on you the first call is made, to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil: Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British, whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you, also, I call, to aid me in this just cause: the American usurpation in this country must be abolished, and the lawful owners of the soil put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers—a good train of artillery, with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war. Be not alarmed, inhabitants of the country, at our approach; the same good faith and disinterestedness, which has distinguished the conduct of Britons in Europe, accompanies them here; you will have no fear of litigious taxes imposed on you, for the purpose of carrying on an unnatural and unjust war; your property, your laws, the peace and tranquillity of your country, will be guaranteed to you by men, who will suffer no infringement of theirs; rest assured, that these brave red men only burn with an ardent desire of satisfaction, for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans; to join you, in liberating these southern provinces from their yoke, and drive them into those limits, formerly prescribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to injure, in the slightest degree, the persons or properties of any but enemies. A flag over any door, whether Spanish, French, or British, will be a certain protection; nor dare any Indian put his foot on the threshold thereof, under penalty of death from his

own countrymen; not even an enemy will an Indian put to death, except resisting in arms; and as for injuring helpless women and children, the red men, by their good conduct, and treatment to them, will (if it be possible,) make the Americans blush for their more inhuman conduct, lately on the Escambia, and within a neutral territory.

Inhabitants of Kentucky, you have too long borne with grievous impositions—the whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons; be imposed on no longer, but either range yourselves under the standard of your forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If you comply with either of these offers, whatever provisions you send down, will be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, guaranteed to you.

Men of Kentucky, let me call to your view, (and I trust to your abhorrence) the conduct of those factions, which hurried you into this civil, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve, in defence of her own, and the liberties of the world—when the bravest of her sons were fighting and bleeding in so sacred a cause—when she was spending millions of her treasure, in endeavouring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants, that ever disgraced the form of man—when groaning Europe was almost in her last gasp—when Britons alone showed an undaunted front—basely did those assassins endeavour to stab her from the rear; she has turned on them, renovated from the bloody, but successful struggle—Europe is happy and free, and she now hastens, justly, to avenge the unprovoked insult. Show them that you are not collectively unjust: leave that *contemptible few* to shift for themselves: let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid; but let every honest, upright American spurn them with united contempt. After the experience of twenty-one years, can you longer support those brawlers for liberty, who call it freedom, when themselves are free? Be no longer their dupes—accept of my offers—every thing I have promised in this paper, I guarantee to you, on the *sacred honour of a British officer*.

Given under my hand, at my *head quarters*,

Pensacola, this 29th day of August; 1814.

EDWARD NICHOLLS.



## Note B—page 255.

*Letter to commodore Daniel T. Patterson.*

*Pensacola, 4th December, 1814.*

SIR,—I feel it a duty to apprize you of a very large force of the enemy off this port, and it is generally understood New Orleans is the object of attack. It amounts, at present, to about eighty vessels, and more than double that number are momentarily looked for, to form a junction; when an immediate commencement of their operations will take place. I am not able to learn, how, when, or where the attack will be made; but I understand that they have vessels of all descriptions, and a large body of troops. Admiral Cochrane commands; and his ship, the *Tonnant*, lies, at this moment, just outside the bar. They certainly appear to have swept the West Indies of troops, and probably no means will be left untried to obtain their object.—The admiral arrived only yesterday noon.

I am yours, &c.

N \* \* \*.

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Note C—page 323.

*Letter from Charles K. Blanchard to general Jackson.*

*New Orleans, March 20, 1814.*

SIR,—I have the honour, agreeably to your request, to state to your excellency, in writing, the substance of a conversation that occurred between quarter master Peddie, of the British army, and myself, on the 11th instant, on board his Britannic Majesty's ship *Herald*. Quarter-master Peddie observed, that the commanding officers of the British forces were daily in the receipt of every information from the city of New Orleans, which they might require, in aid of their operations, for the completion of the objects of the expedition;—that they were perfectly acquainted with the situation of every part of our forces, the manner in which the same was situated, the number of our fortifications, their strength, position, &c. As to the battery on the left bank of the Mississippi, he described its situation, its distance from the main post, and promptly offered me a plan of the works. He furthermore stated, that the above information was received from seven or eight persons, in the city of New Orleans, from whom he could, at any hour, procure every information necessary to promote his majesty's interest.

## Note D—page 349.

*Address of major general Jackson, on the 8th of January, to the troops on the right bank of the river.*

While, by the blessing of heaven, one of the most brilliant victories was obtained by the troops under my immediate command, no words can express the mortification I felt, at witnessing the scene exhibited on the opposite bank. I will spare your feelings and my own, nor enter into detail on the subject. To all who reflect, it must be a source of eternal regret, that a few moments' exertion of that courage you certainly possess, was alone wanting, to have rendered your success more complete than that of your fellow-citizens in this camp. To what cause was the abandonment of your lines owing? To fear? No! You are the countrymen, the friends, the brothers of those who have secured to themselves, by their courage, the gratitude of their country; who have been prodigal of their blood in its defence, and who are strangers to any other fear than disgrace—to disaffection to our glorious cause. No, my countrymen, your general does justice to the pure sentiments by which you are inspired. How then could brave men, firm in the cause in which they were enrolled, neglect their first duty, and abandon the post committed to their care? The want of discipline, the want of order, a total disregard to obedience, and a spirit of insubordination, not less destructive than cowardice itself, are the causes which led to this disaster, and they must be eradicated, or I must cease to command. I desire to be distinctly understood, that every breach of orders, all want of discipline, every inattention of duty, will be seriously and promptly punished; that the attentive officers, and good soldiers, may not be mentioned in the disgrace and danger, which the negligence of a few may produce. Soldiers! you want only the will, in order to emulate the glory of your fellow-citizens on this bank of the river—you have the same motives for action; the same interest, the same country to protect; and you have an additional interest, from past events, to wipe off reproach, and show that you will not be inferior, in the day of trial, to any of your countrymen.

But remember! without obedience, without order, without discipline, all your efforts are vain. The brave man, inattentive to

his duty, is worth little more to his country than the coward who deserts her in the hour of danger. Private opinions, as to the competency of officers, must not be indulged, and still less expressed; it is impossible that the measures of those who command should satisfy all who are bound to obey; and one of the most dangerous faults in a soldier, is a disposition to criticise and blame the orders and characters of his superiors. Soldiers! I know that many of you have done your duty; and I trust, in future, I shall have no reason to make any exception. Officers! I have the fullest confidence, that you will enforce obedience to your commands; but, above all, that by subordination in your different grades, you will set an example to your men; and that, hereafter, the army of the right will yield to none, in the essential qualities which characterize good soldiers;—that they will earn their share of those honours and rewards, which their country will prepare for its deliverers.

ANDREW JACKSON,

*Major General commanding.*

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Note E—page 370.

*Address delivered to major general Andrew Jackson, by the reverend W. Dubourg, administrator apostolic of the diocese of Louisiana.*

GENERAL,—While the state of Louisiana, in the joyful transports of her gratitude, hails you as her deliverer, and the assertor of her menaced liberties—while grateful America, so lately wrapped up in anxious suspense, on the fate of this important city, is re-echoing from shore to shore your splendid achievements, and preparing to inscribe your name on her immortal rolls, among those of her Washingtons—while history, poetry, and the monumental arts, will vie in consigning to the admiration of the latest posterity, a triumph perhaps unparalleled in their records—while thus raised, by universal acclamation, to the very pinnacle of fame, how easy had it been for you, general, to forget the Prime Mover of your wonderful successes, and to assume to yourself a praise, which must essentially return to that exalted source, whence every merit is derived. But, better acquainted with the

nature of true glory, and justly placing the summit of your ambition, in approving yourself the worthy instrument of Heaven's merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart was to acknowledge *the signal interposition of Providence*—your first step, a solemn display of *your humble sense of His favours*.

Still agitated at the remembrance of those dreadful agonies, from which we have been so miraculously rescued, it is our pride to acknowledge, that the Almighty has truly had the principal hand in our deliverance, and to follow you, general, in attributing to his infinite goodness, the homage of our unfeigned gratitude. Let the infatuated votary of a blind chance deride our credulous simplicity; let the cold-hearted Atheist look for the explanation of important events, to the mere concatenation of human causes: to us, the whole universe is loud in proclaiming a Supreme Ruler, who, as he holds the hearts of man in his hands, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences. "Whatever be His intermediate agents," says an illustrious prelate, "still on the secret orders of His all-ruling providence, depend the rise and prosperity, as well as the decline and downfall of empires. From His lofty throne, he moves every scene below, now curbing, now letting loose, the passions of men; now infusing His own wisdom into the leaders of nations; now confounding their boasted prudence, and spreading upon their councils a spirit of intoxication; and thus executing His uncontrollable judgments on the sons of men, according to the dictates of His own unerring justice."

To *Him*, therefore, our most fervent thanks are due, for our late unexpected rescue. It is *Him* we intend to praise, when considering you, general, as the *man of his right hand*, whom he has taken pains to fit out for the important commission of our defence. We extol that fecundity of genius, by which, under the most discouraging distress, you created unforeseen resources, raised, as it were, from the ground, hosts of intrepid warriors, and provided every vulnerable point with ample means of defence. To *Him* we trace that instinctive superiority of your mind, which at once rallied around you universal confidence; impressed one irresistible movement to all the jarring elements of which this political machine is composed; aroused their slumbering spirits, and diffused through every rank, the noble ardour which glowed in your own bosom. To *Him*, in fine, we address our acknowledgments for that consummate prudence, which defeated all the

combinations of a sagacious enemy, entangled him in the very snares which he had spread for us, and succeeded in effecting his utter destruction, without exposing the lives of our citizens. Immortal thanks be to His Supreme Majesty, for sending us such an instrument of His bountiful designs! A gift of that value is the best token of the continuance of His protection—the most solid encouragement, to sue for new favours. The first which it emboldens us humbly to supplicate, as nearest our throbbing hearts, is that you may long enjoy the honour of your grateful country; of which you will permit us to present you a pledge, in this wreath of laurel, the prize of victory, the symbol of immortality. The next is a speedy and honourable termination of the bloody contest, in which we are engaged. No one has so efficaciously laboured as you, general, for the acceleration of that blissful period: may we soon reap that sweetest fruit of your splendid and uninterrupted victories.

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*General Jackson's reply:*

REVEREND SIR,—I receive, with gratitude and pleasure, the symbolical crown, which piety has prepared. I receive it, in the name of the brave men who have so effectually seconded my exertions;—they well deserve the laurels which their country will bestow.

For myself, to have been instrumental in the deliverance of such a country, is the greatest blessing that heaven could confer. That it has been effected with so little loss—that so few tears should cloud the smiles of our triumph, and not a cypress leaf be interwoven in the wreath which you present, is a source of the most exquisite pleasure.

I thank you, reverend sir, most sincerely, for the prayers, which you offer up for my happiness. May those your patriotism dictates, for our beloved country, be first heard: and may mine, for your individual prosperity, as well as that of the congregation committed to your care, be favourably received—the prosperity, wealth, and happiness of this city, will then be commensurate with the courage and other qualities of its inhabitants.

## Note F—page 388.

*Answer submitted by major general Jackson, on a rule to show cause why an attachment for contempt should not issue against him.*

This respondent has received a paper, purporting to be the copy of a rule of the district court of the United States for Louisiana, in a suit entitled "The United States vs. A. Jackson; commanding him to show cause why an attachment should not issue against him, for divers alleged contempts of the said court." Before he makes any answer whatever to the said charges, he deems it necessary to protest, and he does hereby protest against, and reserve to himself all manner of benefit of exception to, the illegal, unconstitutional, and informal nature of the proceedings instituted against him: it appearing, by the said proceeding—

I. That witnesses have been summoned by process of subpoena, in a suit or prosecution of the United States against him, when in fact, there is no such suit or prosecution legally pending in said court.

II. That the said rule was obtained at the instance of the attorney of the United States, for the district of Louisiana, who had no right officially to ask for or obtain it; the duties of the attorney being, by law, restricted to the prosecution of "all delinquents for crimes and offences, cognizable under the authority of the United States, and all civil actions in which they shall be concerned." As this proceeding is not pretended to be a civil action, to bring it within the purview of the duties of the attorney, it must be a prosecution for a crime or offence, cognizable under the authority of the United States. But the facts stated in the rule do not constitute any "crime or offence, cognizable under this authority." The courts of the United States have no common law jurisdiction of crimes or offences; if, therefore, the facts stated in the rule are not made such by statute, they are not cognizable by the courts: but the statutes have been searched, and no such provision can be found; therefore, the facts charged are not offences which are either cognizable by this court, or liable to be prosecuted by the attorney for the United States.

III. That if this be a prosecution for a crime or offence under the authority of the United States, the mode of proceeding is both

unconstitutional and illegal: the 7th and 8th amendment to the constitution contain many provisions, directly contrary to the mode of proceeding by attachment, for contempt; particularly the 7th amendment, that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and of the 8th, that, in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy trial, by an impartial jury; and in the 32d section of the law for punishing certain crimes against the United States, is contained a conclusive implication, if not an express provision, that no offence can be prosecuted, except by *information* or *indictment*; neither of which have been filed, in this instance. The respondent, therefore, concludes those heads of exceptions, by the dilemma, that, if the proceeding be a prosecution for a *crime* or *offence*, cognizable by the authority of the United States, it is both unconstitutional and illegal in its present form; and if it be not such a prosecution, then has the attorney of the United States no right to institute it; his ministry by law extending only to them.

IV. That this court has no right to issue an attachment for any contempt whatever; or to punish the same, in any other cases than those prescribed by the 17th section of the judiciary act, which confines such authority to the punishment, by fine and imprisonment, for contempt in any *cause* or *hearing before the same*—whereas, by the rule, nor the affidavits, does it appear, that the alleged contempts were offered in any *cause* or *hearing* before the said District Court; on the contrary, all the acts complained of as contempts, are stated to have been done in relation to an ex-parte application made to the judge of the said court, at his chambers, at a time when his court was in vacation, and not in a *cause* or *hearing before the court*.

V. That no attachment ought to issue, for neglecting or refusing a return to an habeas corpus, issued and returnable out of court: the statutes on that subject, both in England and in the United States, wherever they have been re-enacted, contain express penalties for this offence; doubtless for the reason that such *neglect* or *refusal*, in relation to an act done, not in a *cause* or *hearing* pending in court, but in an ex-parte proceeding at a judge's chambers, could not be punished, by attachment, as a contempt.

VI. That no act in relation to the writ of habeas corpus, or the

allowance of the same, in the case mentioned in the said rule, can be considered as a contempt; because the judge of this honourable court, by the 14th section of the judiciary act of the United States, is expressly inhibited from issuing any writ of habeas corpus, except in cases of prisoners "in custody, under, or by colour of the authority of the United States; or committed for trial before some court of the same; or who are necessary to be brought into court to testify; neither of which circumstances appear, either in the writ, the allowance of the same, or the affidavit on which it was founded. This court, then, having no jurisdiction of the case, according to a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, this respondent had a right to consider the service as a trespass.

VII. That, by the said writ, no place was designated, at which the same should be returned.

VIII. That the writ was served on the respondent, long after the return thereof, by reason whereof he could not have complied with the tenour, had he been so disposed.

IX. The said writ of habeas corpus issued in an irregular manner, and the respondent was in no wise compelled by law to obey it; inasmuch as the name of the judge, allowing the same, was not signed on the writ with his proper hand writing: nor were the words, "according to the form of the statute," marked thereon—both which are positively required, by the statutes regulating the issuing of such process; and without which they need not be obeyed. Should it be objected, that the English statutes are not binding here, it is answered that the United States are without a statutory provision on the subject; and that the introduction of the writ of habeas corpus generally, must introduce it, as it stood at the time of making the constitution.

X. That if the allowance on the back of the affidavit, contrary to the express words of the statute, be deemed sufficient, yet the respondent was not bound to pay any attention to the writ of habeas corpus, because the same was not issued in conformity with the allowance given on the fifth day of March; this was for a writ returnable on the next day, and afterwards altered, so as to bear date on the sixth of the same month, returnable on the succeeding morning, which would have been the 7th; whereas the writ actually issued, bore date the 6th, and was returnable the same day—



thus varying materially from the allowance. This circumstance is an excellent illustration of the wisdom of the statutory provision, which requires that the writ itself be signed by the judge.

Under all which protestations and exceptions;—without submitting to the jurisdiction of the said court, or acknowledging the regularity of the proceedings, but expressly denying the same—This respondeht, in order to give a fair and true exposition of his conduct, on every occasion in which it may be drawn into question—

Saith—

That previously to, and soon after, his arrival in this section of the seventh military district, he received several letters and communications, putting him on his guard against a portion of the inhabitants of the state, the legislature, and foreign emissaries in the city. The population of the country was represented as divided, by political parties and national prejudices; a great portion of them attached to foreign powers, and disaffected to the government of their own country, and some, as totally unworthy of confidence. The militia was described as resisting the authority of their commander-in-chief, and encouraged in their disobedience, by the legislature of the state. That legislature characterised as politically rotten, and the whole state in such a situation as to make it necessary to look for defence, principally from the regular troops, and the militia from other states. Among those representations, the most important, from the official station of the writer, were those of the governor. On the 8th of August, 1814, he says—

“On a late occasion, I had the mortification to acknowledge my inability to meet a requisition from general Flournoy; the corps of this city having, for the most part, resisted my orders, being encouraged in their disobedience by the legislature of the state, then in session; one branch of which, the senate, having declared the *requisition* illegal and oppressive, and the house of representatives having rejected a proposition to approve the measure. How far I shall be supported in my late orders, remains yet to be proved. I have reason to calculate upon the patriotism of the interior and western counties. I know also that there are many faithful citizens in New Orleans; but there are others, in whose attachment to the United States *I ought not to confide*. Upon the whole, sir, I cannot disguise the fact, that if Louisiana

should be attacked, we must principally depend for security upon the prompt movements of the regular force under your command, and the militia of the western states and territories. At this moment, we are in a very unprepared and defenceless condition: several important points of defence remain unoccupied, and in case of a sudden attack, this capital would, I fear, fall an easy sacrifice."

On the 12th of the same month, the respondent was told—

"On the native Americans, and a vast majority of the Creoles of the country, I place much confidence, nor do I doubt the fidelity of many Europeans, who have long resided in the country; but there are others, much devoted to the interest of Spain, and whose partiality to the English, is not less observable, than their dislike to the American government."

In a letter of the 24th, the same ideas are repeated—

"Be assured, sir, that no exertions shall be wanting, on my part; but I cannot disguise from you, that I have a very difficult people to manage: to this moment, no opposition to the requisition has manifested itself, but I am not seconded with that *ardent zeal*, which, in my opinion, the crisis demands. We look with great anxiety to your movements, and place our greatest reliance for safety, on the energy and patriotism of the western states. In Louisiana, there are many faithful citizens; these last persuade themselves, that Spain will soon repossess herself of Louisiana, and they seem to believe, that a combined Spanish and English force will soon appear on our coast. If Louisiana is invaded, I shall put myself at the head of such of my militia as will follow me to the field, and, *on receiving, shall obey your orders*. I need not assure you of my entire confidence in you, as a commander, and of the pleasure I shall experience, in supporting all your measures for the common defence; but, sir, a cause of indescribable chagrin to me is, that I am not at the head of a willing, and united people: native Americans, native Louisianians, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, with some Englishmen, compose the mass of the population—among them, there exists much jealousy, and as great differences in political sentiments, as in their language and habits. But, nevertheless, sir, if we are supported by a respectable body of regular troops, or of western militia, I trust I shall be able to bring to your aid, a valiant and faithful corps of Louisiana militia; but if we are left to rely *principally on our own resources*,

I fear existing jealousies will lead to distrust, so general, that we shall be able to make but a feeble resistance."

On the 8th of September, the spirit of disaffection is said to be greater than was supposed—the country is said to be filled with *spies* and *traitors*: "Inclosed you have copies of my late general orders. They may, and I trust will be obeyed; but to this moment, my fellow-citizens have not manifested all that union and zeal, the crisis demands, and their own safety requires. There is in this city a much *greater spirit of disaffection* than I had anticipated; and among the faithful Louisianians, there is a *despondency* which palsies all my preparations; they see no strong regular force, around which they could rally with confidence, and they seem to think themselves not within the reach of seasonable assistance, from the western states. I am assured, sir, you will make the most judicious disposition of the forces under your command; but excuse me for suggesting, that the presence of the seventh regiment, at or near New Orleans, will have the most salutary effect. The garrison here at present is alarmingly weak, and is a cause of much regret: from the great mixture of persons, and characters, in this city, we have as much to apprehend from within, as from without. In arresting the intercourse between New Orleans and Pensacola, you have done right. Pensacola is, in fact, an enemy's post, and had our commercial intercourse with it continued, the supplies furnished to the enemy, would have so much exhausted our own stock of provisions, as to have occasioned the most serious inconvenience to ourselves. I was on the point of taking on myself, the prohibition of the trade with Pensacola: I had prepared a proclamation to that effect, and would have issued it the very day I heard of your interposition. Enemies to the country may blame you for your prompt and energetic measures; but, in the person of every patriot, you will find a supporter. I am very confident of the very lax police of this city, and indeed throughout the state, with respect to the visits of strangers. I think, with you, that our country is filled with spies and traitors: I have written pressingly on the subject, to the city authorities and parish judges.—I hope some efficient regulations will speedily be adopted by the first, and more vigilance exerted for the future, by the latter."

On the 19th of September, speaking of the drafts of militia, he says—

"The only difficulty I have hitherto experienced in meeting the requisition, has been in this city, and exclusively from some European Frenchmen, who, after giving their adhesion to Louis XVIII., have, through the medium of the French consul, claimed exemption from the drafts, as French subjects. The question of exemption, however, is now under discussion, before a special court of inquiry, and I am not without hopes, that these ungrateful men, may yet be brought to a discharge of their duties."

On the necessity of securing the country against the machinations of foreigners, he, on the 4th of November, informed the respondent—

"You have been informed of the contents of an intercepted letter, written by colonel Coliel, a Spanish officer, to captain Morales, of Pensacola.—This letter was submitted for the opinion of the attorney general of the state, as to the measures to be pursued against the writer. The attorney general was of opinion, that the courts could take no cognizance of the same; but that the governor might order the writer to leave the state, and in case of refusal, to send him off by force. I accordingly, sir, ordered colonel Coliel to take his departure, in forty-eight hours, for Pensacola, and gave him the necessary passports. I hope this measure may meet your approbation. It is a just retaliation for the conduct lately observed by the governor of Pensacola, and may induce the Spaniards residing among us, to be less communicative, upon those subjects which relate to our military movements."

With the impressions this correspondence was calculated to produce, the respondent arrived in this city, where, in different conversations, the same ideas were enforced, and he was advised; not only by the governor of the state, but very many influential persons, to proclaim martial law, as the only means of producing union, overcoming disaffection, detecting treason, and calling forth the energies of the country. This measure was discussed and recommended to the respondent, as he well recollects, in the presence of the judge of this honourable court, who not only made no objection, but seemed, by his gestures and silence, to approve of its being adopted. These opinions, respectable in themselves, derived greater weight from that which the governor expressed, of the legislature, then in session. He represented their fidelity

as very doubtful; ascribed design to their prolonged session; and appeared extremely desirous that they should adjourn.

The respondent had also been informed, that in the house of representatives, the idea, that a very considerable part of the state belonged to the Spanish government, and ought not to be represented, had been openly advocated, and favourably heard. The co-operation of the Spaniards with the English, was, at that time, a prevalent idea.—This information, therefore, appeared highly important. He determined to examine, with the utmost care, all the facts that had been communicated to him; and not to act upon the advice he had received, until the clearest demonstration should have determined its propriety. He was then almost an entire stranger, in the place he was sent to defend, and unacquainted with the language of a majority of its inhabitants. While these circumstances were unfavourable to his obtaining information, on the one hand, they precluded, on the other, a suspicion that his measures were dictated by personal friendship, private animosity, or party views. Uninfluenced by such motives, he began his observations. He sought for information, and, to obtain it, communicated with men of every description. He believed that even then he discovered those high qualities, which have since distinguished those brave defenders of their country:—that the variety of language, the difference of habit, and even the national prejudices, which seemed to divide the inhabitants, might be made, if properly directed, the source of the most honourable emulation. Delicate attentions were necessary to foster this disposition; and the highest energy, to restrain the effects, that such an assemblage was calculated to produce; he determined to avail himself of both, and with this view, called to his aid, the impulse of national feeling, the higher motives of patriotic sentiment, and the noble enthusiasm of valour. They operated in a manner which history will record; all who could be influenced by those feelings, rallied, without delay, round the standard of their country. Their efforts, however, would have been unavailing, if the disaffected had been permitted to counteract them by their treason, the timid to paralyze them by their example, and both to stand aloof in the hour of danger, and enjoy the fruit of victory, without participating in the danger of defeat.

A disciplined, and powerful army was on our coast, commanded by officers of tried valour, and consummate skill; their fleet had already destroyed the feeble defence, on which, alone, we could rely, to prevent their landing on our shores. Their point of attack was uncertain—a hundred inlets were to be guarded, by a force not sufficient in number for one; we had no lines of defence; treason lurked among us, and only waited the moment of expected defeat, to show itself openly. Our men were few, and of those few, not all were armed; our prospect of aid and supply was distant and uncertain; our utter ruin, if we failed, at hand, and inevitable: every thing depended on the prompt and energetic use of the means we possessed—on calling the whole force of the community into action; it was a contest for the very existence of the state, and every nerve was to be strained in its defence. The physical force of every individual, his moral faculties, his property, and the energy of his example, were to be called into action, and instant action. No delay,—no hesitation,—no inquiry about rights, or *all* was lost; and every thing dear to man, his property, life, the honour of his family, his country, its constitution and laws, were swept away by the avowed principles, the open practice of the enemy with whom we had to contend. Fortifications were to be erected, supplies procured, arms sought for, requisitions made, the emissaries of the enemy watched, lurking treason overawed, insubordination punished, and the contagion of cowardly example to be stopped.

In this crisis, and under a firm persuasion that none of those objects could be effected by the exercise of the ordinary powers confided to him—under a solemn conviction that the country committed to his care could be saved by that measure only from utter ruin—under a religious belief, that he was performing the most important and sacred duty, the respondent proclaimed martial law. He intended, by that measure, to supersede such civil powers, as in their operation interfered with those he was obliged to exercise. He thought, in such a moment, constitutional forms must be suspended, for the permanent preservation of constitutional rights, and that there could be no question, whether it were best to depart, for a moment, from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or have them *wrested* from us forever. He knew, that if the civil magistrate were permitted to exercise his usual func-

tions, none of the measures necessary to avert the awful fate that threatened us, could be expected. Personal liberty cannot exist at a time when every man is required to become a soldier. Private property cannot be secured, when its use is indispensable to the public safety. Unlimited liberty of speech is incompatible with the discipline of a camp; and that of the press more dangerous still, when made the vehicle of conveying intelligence to the enemy, or exciting mutiny among the troops. To have suffered the uncontrolled enjoyment of any of those rights, during the time of the late invasion, would have been to abandon the defence of the country: the civil magistrate is the guardian of those rights; and the proclamation of martial law was therefore intended to supersede the exercise of his authority, so far as it interfered with the necessary restriction of those rights; *but no further.*

The respondent states these principles explicitly, because they are the basis of his defence; and because a mistaken notion has been circulated, that the declaration of martial law only subjected the militia in service to its operation. This would, indeed, have been a very useless ceremony, as such persons were already subject to it, without the addition of any other act. Besides, if the proclamation of martial law were a measure of necessity,—a measure, without the exercise of which the country must unquestionably have been conquered, then does it form a complete justification for the act. If it do not, in what manner will the proceeding by attachment for contempt be justified? It is undoubtedly and strictly a criminal prosecution; and the constitution declares, that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall have the benefit of a trial by jury; yet a prosecution is even now going on in this court, where no such benefit is allowed. Why? From the alleged necessity of the case, because courts could not, it is said, subsist without a power to punish promptly by their own act, and without the intervention of a jury. Necessity then may, in some cases, justify a departure from the constitution: and if, in the doubtful case of avoiding confusion in a court, shall it be denied in the serious one of preserving a country from conquest and ruin? The respondent begs leave to explain, that in using this argument, he does not mean to admit the existence of necessity in the case of attachment; but to show that the principle of a justification from necessity is admitted, even in that weaker case.

If the legislature of the United States have given to courts the power to punish contempts, it is no answer to this defence, for two reasons—first, because the words of the law do not necessarily exclude the intervention of a jury; and secondly, if they do, the law itself is contrary to the words of the constitution, and can only be supported on the plea of necessity; to which head it is referred by the English writers on the subject.

The only responsibility which has been incurred in the present case, is that which arises from necessity. This, the respondent agrees, must not be doubtful; it must be apparent, from the circumstances of the case, or it forms no justification. He submits all his acts, therefore, to be tested by this rule.

To the forcible reasons which he has detailed, as impelling him to this measure, he ought to add, that he has since, by the confession of the enemy himself, received a confirmation of the opinions, which he had then good reason to believe; that there were men among us so depraved, as to give daily and exact information of our movements, and our forces; that the number of those persons was considerable, and their activity unceasing. The names of those wretches will probably be discovered; and the respondent persuades himself, that this tribunal will employ itself, with greater satisfaction, in inflicting the punishment due to their crimes, than it now does in investigating the measures that were taken to counteract them.

If example can justify, or the practice of others serve as a proof of necessity, the respondent has ample materials for his defence; not from analogous construction, but from the conduct of all the different departments of the state government, in the very case now under discussion.

The legislature of the state, having no constitutional power to regulate or restrain commerce, on the — day of December last, passed an act, laying an embargo—the executive sanctioned it, and, from a conviction of its necessity, it was acquiesced in. The same legislature shut up the courts of justice, for four months, to all civil suitors—the same executive sanctioned that law, and the judiciary not only acquiesced, but solemnly approved it.

The governor, as appears by one of the letters quoted, undertook to inflict the punishment of exile upon an inhabitant, without any form of law, merely because he thought that an individual's presence might be dangerous to the public safety.



The judge of this very court, duly impressed with the emergency of the moment, and the necessity of employing every means of defence, consented to the discharge of men, committed and indicted for capital crimes, without bail, and without recognizance; and, probably under an impression that the exercise of his functions would be useless, absented himself from the place where his court was to be holden, and postponed its session, during a regular term.

Thus the conduct of the legislative, executive, and judiciary branches of the government of this state, have borne the fullest testimony of the existence of the necessity, on which the respondent relies.

The unqualified approbation of the legislature of the United States, and such of the individual states as were in session, ought also to be admitted, as no slight means of defence; inasmuch as all these respectable bodies were fully apprized of his proclamation of martial law, and some of them seem to refer to it, by thanking him for the energy of his measures.

The respondent, therefore, believes he has established the necessity of proclaiming martial law. He has shown the effects of that declaration; and it only remains to prove, in answer to the rule, that the power assumed from necessity, was not abused in its exercise, nor improperly protracted in its duration.

All the acts mentioned in the rule, took place after the enemy had retired from the position they had at first assumed—after they had met with a signal defeat, and after an unofficial account had been received of the signature of a treaty of peace. Each of these circumstances might be, to one who did not see the whole ground, a sufficient reason for supposing that further acts of energy and vigour were unnecessary. On the mind of the respondent, they had a different effect. The enemy had retired from their position, it is true; but they were still on the coast, and within a few hours' sail of the city. They had been defeated, and with loss; but that loss was to be repaired by expected reinforcements. Their numbers still much more than quadrupled all the regular forces which the respondent could command; and the term of service of his most efficient militia force was about to expire. Defeat, to a powerful and active enemy, was more likely to operate as an incentive to renewed and increased exertion, than to inspire them with despondency, or to paralyze their

efforts. A treaty, it is true, had been probably signed; yet it might not be ratified. Its contents had not transpired, and no reasonable conjecture could be formed, that it would be acceptable. The influence which the account of its signature had on the army, was deleterious in the extreme, and showed a necessity for increased energy, instead of a relaxation of discipline. Men, who had shown themselves zealous, in the preceding part of the campaign, now became lukewarm in the service. Those whom no danger could appal, and no labour discourage, complained of the hardships of the camp. When the enemy were no longer immediately before them, they thought themselves oppressed, by being detained in service. Wicked and weak men, who, from their situation in life, ought to have furnished a better example, secretly encouraged this spirit of insubordination. They affected to pity the hardships of those who were kept in the field; they fomented discontent, by insinuating that the merits of those to whom they addressed themselves, had not been sufficiently noticed or applauded; and to so high a degree had the disorder at length risen, that at one period, only fifteen men and one officer, out of a whole regiment, stationed to guard the very avenue through which the enemy had penetrated into the country, were found at their post. At another point, equally important, a whole corps, on which the greatest reliance had been placed, operated upon by the acts of a foreign agent, suddenly deserted their post.

If, trusting to an uncertain peace, the respondent had revoked his proclamation, or ceased to act under it, the fatal security by which we were lulled, might have destroyed all discipline, have dissolved all his force, and left him without any means of defending the country against an enemy, instructed, by the traitors within our own bosom, of the time and place, at which he might safely make his attack. In such an event, his life might have been offered up; yet it would have been but a feeble expiation, for the disgrace and misery, into which, by his criminal negligence, he had permitted the country to be plunged.

He thought peace a probable, but by no means a certain event. If it had really taken place, a few days must bring the official advice of it; and he believed it better to submit, during those few days, to the salutary restraints imposed, than to put every thing dear to ourselves and country at risk upon an uncertain contingency. Admit the chances to have been a hundred or a thousand to

one in favour of the ratification, and against any renewed attempts of the enemy ; what should we say or think of the prudence of the man, who would stake his life, his fortune, his country, and his honour, even with such odds in his favour, against a few days' anticipated enjoyment of the blessings of peace ? The respondent could not bring himself to play so deep a hazard ; uninfluenced by the clamours of the ignorant and the designing, he continued the exercise of that law, which necessity had compelled him to proclaim ; and he still thinks himself justified, by the situation of affairs, for the course which he adopted and pursued. Has he exercised this power wantonly or improperly ? If so, he is liable ; not, as he believes, to this honourable court for contempt, but to his government for an abuse of power, and to those individuals whom he has injured, in damages proportioned to that injury.

About the period last described, the consul of France, who appears, by governor Claiborne's letter, to have embarrassed the first drafts, by his claims in favour of pretended subjects of his king, renewed his interference ; his certificates were given to men in the ranks of the army ; to some who had never applied, and to others who wished to use them as the means of obtaining an inglorious exemption from danger and fatigue. The immunity derived from these certificates not only thinned the ranks, by the withdrawal of those to whom they were given, but produced the desertion of others, who thought themselves equally entitled to the privilege ; and to this cause must be traced the abandonment of the important post of Chef Menteur, and the temporary refusal of a relief ordered to occupy it.

Under these circumstances, to remove the force of an example which had already occasioned such dangerous consequences, and to punish those who were so unwilling to defend what they were so ready to enjoy, the respondent issued a general order, directing those French subjects, who had availed themselves of the consul's certificates, to remove out of the lines of defence, and far enough to avoid any temptation of intercourse with our enemy, whom they were so scrupulous of opposing. This measure was resorted to, as the mildest mode of proceeding against a dangerous and increasing evil ; and the respondent had the less scruple of his power, in this instance, as it was not quite so strong as that which governor Claiborne had exercised, before the invasion, by the advice of his attorney-general, in the case of colonel Coliel.

It created, however, some sensation ;—discontents were again fomented, from the source that had first produced them. Aliens and strangers became the most violent advocates of constitutional rights, and native Americans were taught the value of their privileges, by those who formally disavowed any title to their enjoyment. The order was particularly opposed, in an anonymous publication. In this, the author deliberately and wickedly misrepresented the order, as subjecting to removal all Frenchmen whatever, even those who had gloriously fought in defence of the country ; and, after many dangerous and unwarrantable declarations, he closes, by calling upon all Frenchmen to flock to the standard of their consul—thus advising and producing an act of mutiny and insubordination, and publishing the evidence of our weakness and discord to the enemy, who were still in our vicinity, anxious, no doubt, before the cessation of hostilities, to wipe away the late stain upon their arms. To have silently looked on such an offence, without making any attempt to punish it, would have been a formal surrender of all discipline, all order, all personal dignity and public safety. This could not be done ; and the respondent immediately ordered the arrest of the offender. A writ of habeas corpus was directed to issue for his enlargement. The very case which had been foreseen, the very contingency on which martial law was intended to operate, had now occurred. The civil magistrate seemed to think it his duty to enforce the enjoyment of civil rights, although the consequences which have been described, would probably have resulted. An unbending sense of what he seemed to think his station required, induced him to order the liberation of the prisoner. This, under the respondent's sense of duty, produced a conflict which it was his wish to avoid.

No other course remained, than to enforce the principles which he had laid down as his guide, and to suspend the exercise of this judicial power, wherever it interfered with the necessary means of defence. The only way effectually to do this, was to place the judge in a situation, in which his interference could not counteract the measures of defence, or give countenance to the mutinous disposition that had shown itself in so alarming a degree. Merely to have disregarded the writ, would but have increased the evil, and to have obeyed it, was wholly repugnant to the respondent's ideas of the public safety, and to his own sense of

duty. The judge was therefore confined, and removed beyond the lines of defence.

As to the paper mentioned in the rule, which the respondent is charged with taking and detaining, he answers, that when the writ was produced by the clerk of this honourable court, the date of its issuance appeared to have been altered from the 5th to the 6th. He was questioned respecting the apparent alteration, and acknowledged it had been done by judge Hall, and not in the presence of the party who made the affidavit. This material alteration, in a paper that concerned him, gave the respondent, as he thought, a right to detain it, for further investigation, which he accordingly did; but gave a certified copy, and an acknowledgment that the original was in his possession.

The respondent avows, that he considered this alteration in the date of the affidavit, as it was then explained to him by the clerk, to be such evidence of a personal, not judicial, interference, and activity, in behalf of a man charged with the most serious offence, as justified the idea then formed, that the judge approved his conduct, and supported his attempts to excite disaffection among the troops.

This was the conduct of the respondent, and these the motives which prompted it. They have been fairly and openly exposed to this tribunal, and to the world, and would not have been accompanied by any exception or waver of jurisdiction, if it had been deemed expedient to give him that species of trial, to which he thinks himself entitled, by the constitution of his country. The powers which the exigency of the times forced him to assume, have been exercised exclusively for the public good; and, by the blessing of God, they have been attended with unparalleled success. They have saved the country; and whatever may be the opinion of that country, or the decrees of its courts, in relation to the means he has used, he can never regret that he employed them.

ANDREW JACKSON,

*Major general commanding 7th military district.*

Nota G—page 391.

*Address to the troops at New Orleans, after the annunciation of peace.*

The major general is at length enabled to perform the pleasing task of restoring to Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the territory of the Mississippi, the brave troops who have acted such a distinguished part, in the war which has just terminated. In restoring these brave men to their homes, much exertion is expected of, and great responsibility imposed on, the commanding officers of the different corps. It is required of major generals Carroll and Thomas, and brigadier general Coffee, to march their commands, without unnecessary delay, to their respective states. The troops from the Mississippi territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers, will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

The major general has the satisfaction of announcing the approbation of the president of the United States to the conduct of the troops under his command, expressed, in flattering terms, through the honourable the secretary at war.

In parting with those brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labours and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, the commanding general can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought. In what terms can he bestow suitable praise on merit so extraordinary, so unparalleled? Let him, in one burst of joy, gratitude, and exultation, exclaim—"These are the saviours of their country—these the patriot soldiers, who triumphed over the invincibles of Wellington, and conquered the conquerors of Europe!" With what patience did you submit to privations—with what fortitude did you endure fatigue—what valour did you display in the day of battle! You have secured to America a proud name among the nations of the earth—a glory which will never perish.

Possessing those dispositions, which equally adorn the citizen and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met in peace, as her wishes have been gratified in war. Go, then, my brave companions, to your homes; to those tender connexions, and blissful scenes, which render life so dear—full of honour, and crowned with laurels which will never fade. When participating, in the bosoms of your families, the enjoyment of peaceful life, with what happiness will you not look back to the toils

you have borne—to the dangers you have encountered? How will all your past exposures be converted into sources of inexpressible delight? Who, that never experienced your sufferings, will be able to appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness, and your days of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy the gratitude of that country, which you have so eminently contributed to save.

Continue, fellow soldiers, on your passage to your several destinations, to preserve that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment, which have so ennobled your character.

While the commanding general is thus giving indulgence to his feelings, towards those brave companions, who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardour and patriotism have these distinguished governors contributed all their exertions, to provide the means of victory! The recollection of their exertions, and of the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful, than any which the pomp of title, or the splendour of wealth, can bestow.

What happiness it is to the commanding general, that, while danger was before him, he was, on no occasion, compelled to use, towards his companions in arms, either severity or rebuke. If, after the enemy had retired, improper passions began their empire in a few unworthy bosoms, and rendered a resort to energetic measures necessary for their suppression, he has not confounded the innocent with the guilty—the seduced with the seducers. Towards you, fellow-soldiers, the most cheering recollections exist, blended, alas! with regret, that disease and war should have ravished from us so many worthy companions. But the memory of the cause in which they perished, and of the virtues which animated them while living, must occupy the place where sorrow would claim to dwell.

Farewell, fellow-soldiers. The expression of your general's thanks is feeble; but the gratitude of a country of freemen is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world.

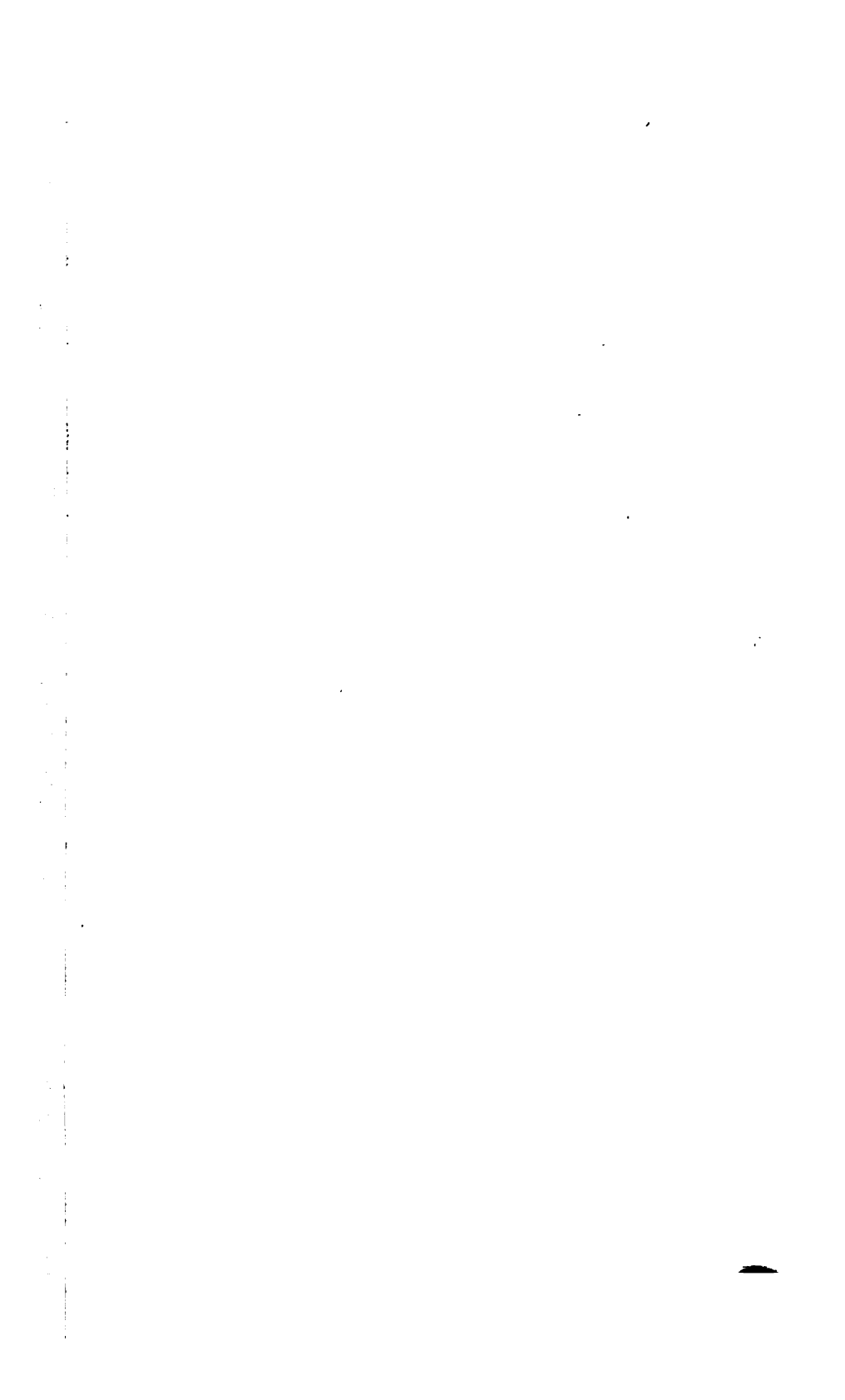
ANDREW JACKSON,  
*Major General commanding.*

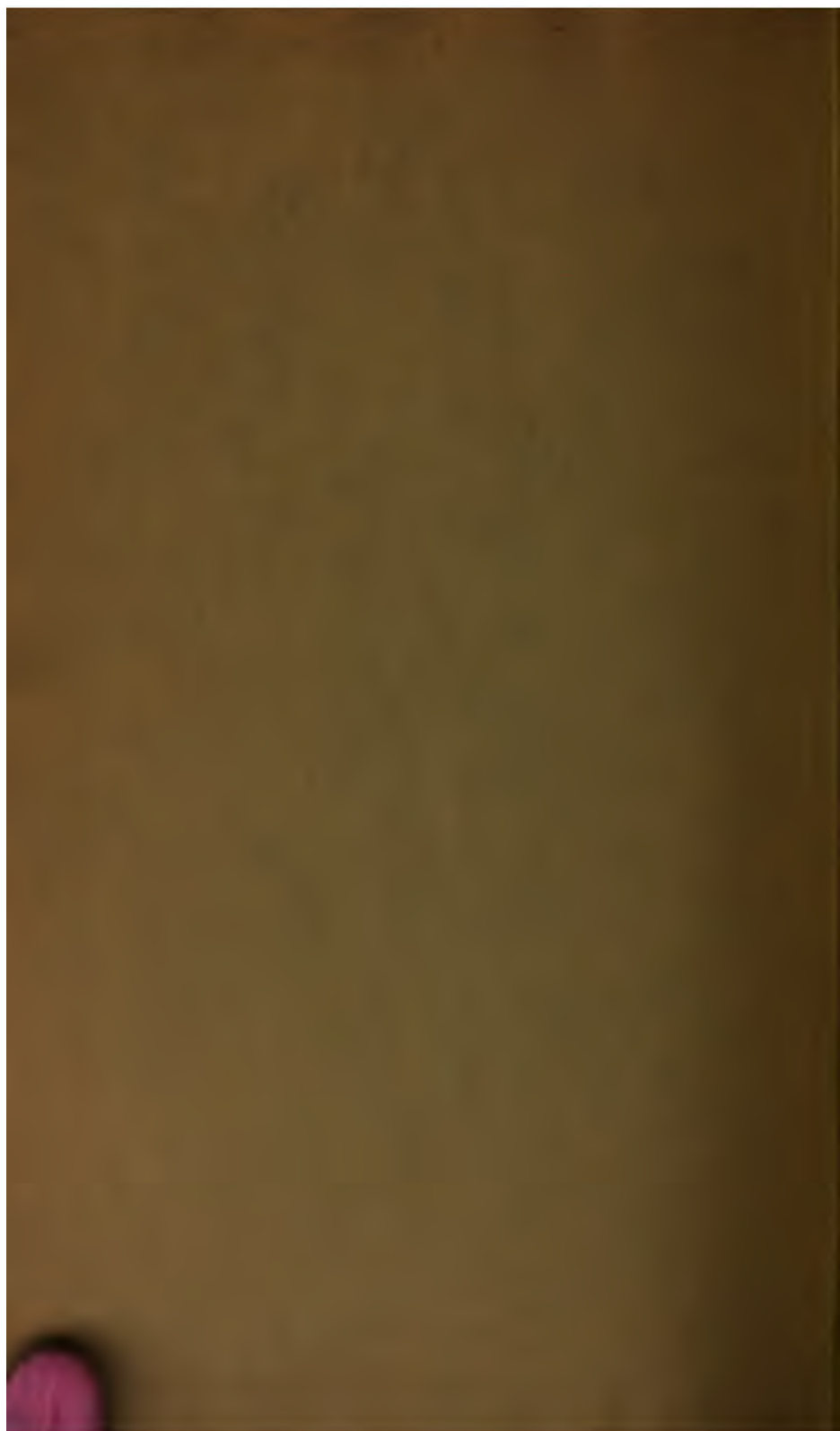
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